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THE

INDIAN DEMANDS

A SYMPOSIUM ON THE MEMORANDUM OF THE NINETEEN AND SPEECHES AT THE CONGRESS & MOSLEM LEAGUE ON THEIR SCHEME OF SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION BY

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INTRODUCTION.

The reforms and changes advocated in the Memorandum presented to His Excellency the Viceroy by the Nineteen Non-Official Members of the Imperial Legislative Council and the scheme of reforms adopted unanimously by the last sessions of the Congress and the Muslim League held at Lucknow have afforded an opportunity to the enemies of Indian progress to misrepresent the motives and actions of the Indian leaders. Deliberate attempts have been made in some quarters to make the unwary believe that Indian political leaders, taking advantage of the present situation, when the Empire is in the throes of a tremendous struggle, have suddenly sprung upon the public demands of a novel and revolutionary character. It is the object of these pages to show how untrue the accusations are and that the reforms urged are as old as the Congress movement itself. In the Memorandum and in the Scheme, it is rightly urged that the time is come when the authorities should give an assurance to the people of India and declare that Self-Government is to be our goal. As has been pointed out by our distinguished countryman, Dadabhai Naoroji :

The British nation, of their own accord and pleasure, merely from their own sense of their duty towards the millions of India and to the world, deliberately declared before the world what their policy should be towards the people of India. Nor did the British people do this in any ignorance or want of forethought or without the consideration of all possible consequences of their action. Never was there a debate in both Houses of

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Parliament more complete and clear, more exhaustive, more deliberately looked at from all points of view, and more calculated for the development of statesmanlike policy and practical good sense. The most crucial point of view—that of political danger or of even the possible loss of India to Britain—was faced with true English manliness; and the British nation, through their Parliament, then settled, adopted, and proclaimed to the world what their policy was to be—viz., the policy of justice and of the advancement of humanity.

The historic debate referred to is that which took place in the House of Commons and in the Lords in discussing the Charter Act of 1833.

No educated Indian can ever forget the famous pronouncement made by Lord Macaulay in the House of Commons on this occasion and his magnificent peroration containing his great prophecy about the future of India :

It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history.

This eloquent plea of Macaulay was in favour of "that wise, that benevolent, and that noble clause" 87, of the Charter Act of 1833, which declared "that *no native of the said territories nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company.*"

The Court of Directors in forwarding the Act of 1833, to the East India Company, accompanied

the same with a remarkable despatch in which they observed regarding clause 87 :

But the meaning of the enactment we take to be that there shall be no governing caste in British India; that whatever other tests of qualification may be adopted, distinctions of race or religion shall not be of the number.

When in 1853, once again, the revision of the Company's Charter came up in the Commons in discussing its provisions, many members bewailed that the important provision of the Act of 1833 had not been given effect to. The opportunity, therefore, was fully availed of to "emphatically insist" that the British people and the British Parliament should be no party to the "unfaithfulness" of reducing a Parliamentary enactment to remain a "dead letter," a "sham and delusion."

John Bright indignantly pointed out that "this most objectionable and offensive state of things" should not be allowed to continue any longer. When at the end of the Great Mutiny, the rule (many call it the misrule) of the Company was put an end to, and the Government of India transferred directly to the Crown, and the Proclamation of 1858 issued to the Princes and Peoples of India, the joy of the people knew no bounds ; for the event marked the turning point in the history of British rule in India and the famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria gave further solemnity to the sacred character of the promise contained in the Charter Act of 1833. "*We hold ourselves,*" proclaimed the noble Queen, "*bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all*

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our other subjects, and these obligations by the blessing of Almighty God we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil ;" and it is interesting at this distance of time to recall to our memory how the good Queen directed her Minister to issue the great Proclamation, bearing in mind "that it is a female Sovereign who speaks to more than a hundred millions of her eastern people on assuming the direct government over them and, after a bloody war *giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem.*" And in explaining the principles of her Government Her Majesty was justly anxious that the document should, besides "breathing a feeling of generosity, benevolence and religious toleration," also "point out *the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown.*"

While Queen Victoria was justly anxious that the Proclamation issued in her own name to the Princes and Peoples of India should "point out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown," her successors, her son and her grandson solemnly confirmed the ideal set by her to the people of India. The noble policy laid down by the British Parliament and sanctified by the Proclamation of Queen Victoria, pledged to be followed by her successors, has been from time to time affirmed by a succession of great British statesmen and Anglo-Indian administrators like Sir Thomas Munro, the Rt. Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir John Malcolm, Sir John Lawrance, Mr. Gladstone, Sir

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William Wilson Hunter, Lord Salisbury, Lord Hartington, Sir Richard Temple, Lord Ripon, Lord Cromer, and Sir William Lee Warner.

And if further evidence were needed to show how truly noble was the ideal of the older generation of Anglo-Indian administrators, we have only to recall to our memory the famous letter addressed to the late Mr. Gokhale, in 1905, by Mr. Hodgson Pratt:—

I may mention that at the time of the inauguration of these measures I accompanied the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (Sir Frederick Halliday) on one of his winter tours through the province. Naturally, he called the attention of those who attended the public meetings held by him to the new education policy, and he always took occasion to declare that the schools would promote one of the leading purposes of British rule, *which was to prepare the people for self-government.* It certainly was not supposed that at any subsequent time a policy would be adopted, which would disappoint the legitimate hopes thus created.

With such a lofty ideal of the political destiny of India placed before them, fed up on the writings of Milton and Burke and Mill, with their minds fully stored with the great history of the struggles for constitutional freedom and liberty in England and other Western countries, and above all ever inspired by the higher ideals of English life and character, is it a matter for wonder, or in any way unnatural, that India's sons have been steadily gazing at the goal of Self-Government?

The notification which announced the holding of the first session of the Indian National Congress clearly stated that one of the objects of the future assembly was "indirectly *to form the*

germ of an Indian parliament which, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institution."

In the second Congress the question of representative institutions for India was debated and the Congress recorded its "fixed conviction that the introduction of representative institutions will prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people."

Henceforward the question of representative institutions was discussed in some shape or other, at almost every session of the Congress and in the words of one of the great orators of the Congress:

> We unfurl the banner of the Congress, and upon it are written, in characters of glittering gold, which none may efface, the great words of this Resolution: 'Representative Institutions for India.'

When the movement entered the second decade of its life more emphatic expression was given to the hopes and aspirations of the people "*to realise the dream of a united and federated India.*"

At the historic session of the Congress held at Calcutta in 1906 under the presidency of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Grand Old Man delivered the following message:—

> Self-Government is the only and chief remedy. In Self-Government lie our hope, strength and greatness. . . . I do not know what good fortune may be in store for me during the short period that may be left to me and if I can leave a word of affection and devotion for my country and countrymen I say: Be united, persevere,

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and achieve Self-Government, so that the millions now perishing by poverty, famine and plague, and the scores of millions that are starving on scanty subsistence may be saved, and India may once more occupy her proud position of yore among the greatest and civilised Nations of the West.

Dadabhai who throughout his life had been pleading for *British Spirit* and *British Justice* and denouncing everything *un-British* was emphatic in his claim that Indians should be in India what Englishmen were in their country. According to him there was only one remedy for the unrest and the economic evil which was at the root of Indian poverty. "*The whole matter can be comprised in one word, Self-Government, or Swaraj, like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies.*" As to when a beginning should be made to enable the people to automatically develop full Self-Government, he gave the unhesitating answer: "*Not only has the time fully arrived, but it had arrived long past.*"

In April 1906, when the Congress resolved to have its written constitution, it was clearly laid down as the very first article "that the objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members." This was the declaration made six years before the commencement of the present war. In asking therefore that the British people should give an assurance to the people of India that self-government is to be our goal, one has only to remember

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that "generations of British statesmen have repeatedly laid down that policy, solemn declarations of successive sovereigns have graciously endorsed it, and acts of Parliament have given it legislative sanction." If the demand for such a declaration has become loud and insistent, it is because in the past deliberate attempts have been made by some reactionary statesmen and Viceroys to go back on pledges and promises but more so as Indian leaders have been convinced that even during the period of the present war the Colonies are clamouring for being admitted into the inner Councils of the Empire and the question of the refashioning of the fabric of the Empire and striking the iron while it is hot is on the lips of responsible premiers. Indian politicians would have been guilty of an act of political suicide, if, following the interested advice of the bureaucracy here and its representatives at Home, they took no steps to acquaint the British democracy of the legitimate aims and aspirations of the people of India.

But the Congress will not be content with a mere declaration of policy by the Government in regard to Self-Government. As a first step in that direction, the Congress urges the Government to take early measures for the introduction of such changes and reforms as are directly calculated to achieve the high purpose in view. The first great step necessary is the reconstitution of the Indian Councils, the Legislative and Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of the Provincial Governors and Lieutenant

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Governors. And only if this is done "hope may come where despair holds sway, and faith where doubt spreads its darkening shadow."

It is hardly necessary to go into the history of the various attempts made for the reform and expansion of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 was an attempt to concede the principle of representation of the Indian people by election, but that principle was killed by the bureaucracy which was entrusted with the duty of framing the rules and regulations for the working of it.

The most trenchant criticism of the rules and regulations framed by the Viceroy was that made at the Congress by Mr. G. K. Gokhale who said:

> Gentlemen, in regard to these Rules [framed for the Presidency of Bombay to give effect to the Act], I will not say that they have been deliberately so framed as to defeat the object, of the Act of 1892, but I will say this, that if the officer who drafted them had been asked to sit down with the deliberate purpose of framing a scheme to defeat that object, he could not have done better.

Similar has been the fate which has overtaken the Minto-Morley Reforms. In his famous Despatch to the Secretary of State for India, Lord Minto claimed that:

> Regarding the scheme as a whole, we consider ourselves justified in claiming for it that it will really and effectively associate the people of India with the Government in the work not only of occasional legislation but of actual everyday administration. It is an attempt to give India a constitution framed on sufficiently liberal lines to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the most advanced Indians, whilst at the same time enlisting the support of the more conservative elements of Indian society.

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Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, replied to this Despatch in his remarkable communication, dated 27th November 1908. He recognised the just observation of Lord Minto, "*that the principle to be borne in mind is that election by the wishes of the people is the ultimate object to be secured, whatever may be the actual machinery adopted for giving effect to it.*"

Mr. Asquith, who was then Prime Minister, speaking on April 1, 1909 on the order for the second reading of the Indian Councils Bill, pointed out :—

It is most desirable, in the circumstances, to give to the people of India the feeling that these legislative councils are not mere automatons the wires of which are pulled by the official hierarchy. It is of very great importance from that point of view that the non-official element should be in the ascendant, subject to proper safeguards. In that way you obtain some kind of security that the legislation which finally passes through the mill of the council reflects the opinion of the community.

It was Mr. Gokhale's lot to give strong expression to the injustice done to the principle underlying the Indian Councils Act of 1892, by the narrow and illiberal rules and regulations framed by the Indian bureaucracy to defeat the very objects aimed at. In 1909, it was Mr. Surendranath Banerjea's painful duty to burst forth as follows in open Congress :—

It is no exaggeration to say that the Rules and Regulations have practically wrecked the Reform Scheme as originally conceived with a beneficence of purpose and a statesmanlike grasp that did honour to all that are associated with it. . . . Who wrecked the scheme ? Who converted that promising experiment into a dismal failure ? The responsibility rests upon the shoulders of

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the bureaucracy. . . . . Is the bureaucracy having its revenge upon us for the part we have played in securing these concessions?

Deep was the disappointment and great the indignation caused, but Mr. Banerjea counselled his countrymen not to abandon hope.

But the hope was in vain; the manner in which the rules and regulations have been worked, and the unsympathetic attitude adopted by the bureaucracy in dealing with the resolutions of the non-official members, have made almost every one of them confess to a feeling of helplessness. Almost every member of the Provincial and Imperial Councils has a sad tale to tell. It is pathetic to read the following tale unfolded in the pages of *The Indian Review* (March 1917) by Mr. Nyapati Subba Rao Pantulu, a distinguished Indian publicist, who was for years a member of the Madras Legislative Council, till lately a Member of the Imperial Legislative Council, and now Joint-General Secretary of the Indian National Congress:—

The deep disappointment caused by the regulations, and the narrow interpretation put upon them, is writ large in the pages of the proceedings of the Legislative Council and in the columns of the Indian Press. . . . . As regards the Legislative Council, a standing official majority is constituted, though the Government of India were content to dispense with it. *A feeling of helplessness is felt by the elected members at every step, and they are placed entirely at the mercy of the Government.*

The Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who served for years in the United Provinces Legislative Council and is now its representative in the Imperial Legislative Council,

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and who is held in universal esteem by his countrymen and whose sincerity of purpose and moderation of language have won for him the admiration of even his official opponents, declared not long ago that "the conclusion is forced on our mind that *those who have the power are unwilling to part with that power*," and he added that "unless we have a potent and determining voice in the administration of our country's affairs, there is not much hope for that progress which it is the birthright of every civilized people to achieve."

If this be the fate of the working of the Minto-Morley scheme in the Imperial Legislative Council, one can easily conceive of the situation in the various Provincial Councils.

Here is the tale of woe of the Hon. Rao Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao who has had varied experience as Chairman of an important Municipality, as Vice-President of a Taluq Board in his District, and as a member of almost every important select Committee of the Madras Legislative Council in which he has been serving for over three consecutive terms :—

In 1912, ten resolutions were brought forward; only one proposing a diversion of expenditure of about Rs. 50,000 was found acceptable with the Government. In 1913, thirty-one resolutions were brought forward. None of them were agreeable to the Government. In 1914, similarly there were twenty resolutions which raised various points of financial administration but not even one was carried in this Council. In 1915, there were twenty-three resolutions, not a single one could be carried. In 1916, there were twenty-two resolutions, not a single one having been accepted.

The working of the Legislative Council of the

Province of Bengal seems to be no better, and yet it had the advantage, till recently, of being presided over by a noble-minded and sympathetic administrator like Lord Carmichael. In welcoming the other day his successor, Lord Ronaldshay, the Hon. Mr. Faz-ul-Huq said :—

We are in theory the chosen representatives of the people, but in shaping the policy of the Administration, our voice in the Councils of Government is of hardly more weight and value than that of the man in the moon.

The tale from the Central Provinces seems to be no better. Presiding at the second session of the Conference (held at Yeotmal in th first week of April 1917,) the Hon. Mr. N. K. Kelkar emphatically declared :—

Unless the composition of the Councils themselves is first thoroughly overhauled, a good deal of the advantage which might be expected from the criticism of these Councils would, I am afraid, be mostly of an illusory character.

The tendency on the part of the officials to restrict the scope and usefulness of the work of their non-official colleagues seems like a contagion to spread from province to province. Here is the statement of the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel, made at the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council :—" I see nothing but distrust on the part of the Government of non-official members, whom they have under the Rules to take on Committees."

Of the result of the labours of the non-official members of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, we have the statement of the late Pundit Bishen Narayan Dhar :—

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Nearly every resolution moved by the non-official Indian members of the United Provinces Council has been rejected—and rejected by overwhelming majorities; for, besides some of the elected members, the nominated members were always ready to support the Government.

The great claim in regard to the Minto-Morley reforms was that they were designed "to entrust to the Indian peoples a greater share in Legislation and Government," and "to really and effectively associate the people of India in the work, not only of occasional legislation, but of actual everyday administration."

What sort of control the non-official members of the Legislative Council exercise over Provincial Administration and how their efforts in that direction are discouraged and often thwarted, it is needless to mention over and over again. The plain truth is that Lord Morley's reform scheme became an accomplished fact, because Lord Minto realised the true character of the situation and insisted upon it. The Indian bureaucracy never welcomed it; for the matter of that, they have never countenanced any measure of reform which made an inroad on their cherished rights and privileges.

Can anyone, who has watched the course of events in the country since the Minto-Morley reforms, truly say that there has been any perceptible difference in the attitude of the Bureaucracy to non-official public opinion? Indeed, there are some who go so far as to aver that even the war, which is supposed to have materially changed the angle of vision, has effected little or no change in the official attitude in India. Sir Edward Baker's appeal to the Civil Service "to resort to the more

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difficult arts of persuasion and conciliation, in the place of the easier methods of autocracy," has proved, generally speaking, an appeal made in vain. Not only has a systematic attempt been made to disregard and defeat the recommendations and resolutions brought forward by the non-official representatives of the people, but time after time the Civil Service officials have added insult to injury by making the preposterous claim that they are the truer representatives of the people—the toiling masses—and that they take better care of their interests and welfare than the educated Indian non-officials. Every one knows that the claim and distinction sought to be made is as mischievous as it is "unreal and ridiculous." Everybody knows that many an English official, "standing in a proud and sometimes contemptuous isolation which prevents him from ever acquiring a real hold over the facts of native life," and with his unmanageable jaw "which never helps him to acquire anything distinctly approaching to a living knowledge of the language of the people," often "betrays the most startling inability to enter into and comprehend the simplest facts of native life and native thought."

It is intolerable that a foreign bureaucracy, ignorant of the language of the people and unacquainted with the feelings and thoughts of the people, their ways of life, their ambitions and aspirations, should pose as their friend and deny to their educated brethren, who are born of the people, bred up among the people, and live among the people, the right to speak for them. The Anglo-Indian frame of mind has been well des-

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cribed by Sir Auckland Colvin, when he says: "the English mind in India has been tempted to stand still, arrested by the contemplation of the fruits of its efforts in former times and by the symmetry of the shrine, the pride of its own creation in which it lingers to offer incense to its past successful labours," and the Civil Service feels aggrieved when it is criticised, failing to realise that the days of the rule of the benevolent and unquestioned autocrat are over.

Hence the present state of things cannot continue any longer without causing grave injury to the interests of the people and of the Government itself. The nineteen non-official members of the Viceroy's Council state but the bare fact when they observe that, "the people or their representatives are practically as little associated with the real government of their country as they were before the reforms."

Their memorandum and the scheme of reforms, unanimously adopted by the Congress and the Moslem League, rightly lay down that in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils four-fifths of the members should be elected. Both the documents point to the urgent need there is for having a substantial majority of elected representatives in the Imperial and Provincial Councils; for "the one general objection which applies to all the Councils is, that the non-official majority is composed of both elected and nominated members which, as the Councils are now constituted, means a standing and, indeed, an overwhelming official majority in every one of them," and Lord Morley certainly never dreamt

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of this sort of non-official majority when he granted us the reforms. His intention was to give us a substantial non-official majority.

The scheme also formulates reasonable proposals for obtaining "not merely a nominal but a living representation" of the people in the Councils of the country on as broad a franchise as possible, giving at the same time every facility for the representation of important minorities.

Besides possessing a substantial non-official elected majority, every Council must have the right of electing its own President. For it is essential that discussion should be free and unfettered, and every Member of the Council should be made to feel that when he is in the Council, he is there to speak out his mind freely and unreservedly on the questions that come before him for deliberation. As things are at present, the permanent officials insist upon their time-honoured privilege of deciding what is good for the people, while the legitimate claim of the non-officials to represent the grievances, the wants and aspirations of their own countrymen is disregarded and even scouted. Even Governors of Provinces, though Britishers fresh from England, fall into the hands of the bureaucracy; and things are often presented to them by the official hierarchy in such a light that they are made to stand by their colleagues, to take part in the discussion in the spirit of partisans, press for their own views and often use their influence to secure a majority on their side, and so we have the unexpected, the unnatural, and the provoking sight of officialdom having the upper hand in Lord Morley's Reformed Legislative Coun-

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cils, when the intentions of the scheme were really to secure just the opposite effect. Debates and discussions carried on under such disheartening conditions cannot, in the nature of things, be of any real good.

But a mere increase in the numbers of these Councils will certainly not make for any appreciable improvement. It has been and is bound to be really sickening to the representatives of the people to devote their time and talents to a study of the problems of administration and move resolutions in the Councils, the bulk of them being thrown out and the few, even if carried, being not binding on the executive. The non-officials cannot have their heart in the work when, as they have known to their cost, their recommendations have no binding force and that it is in the power of the permanent officials to brush them aside or refuse to act upon them at all.

The scheme, therefore, provides that a resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government, and with a view to effectively guard against any hasty or ill-conceived decision, the power of veto is vested in the Governor-in-Council. If, however, this same resolution, after an interval of not less than one year, be again brought forward before the Council, discussed and carried by a majority, it must be given effect to, because it will then be the twice-considered and matured decision of that body.

If then the decisions of the Legislative Council are to be binding on the Executive and its behests enforced, it follows logically that the members should command the confidence of the Legislature

but having regard to our existing conditions, the Congress and the League Scheme will, for the present, be content with a reform which will secure that, at least one half of the members of the Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected Members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

The Government which recognised the wisdom and justice of admitting an Indian into the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Provincial rulers could certainly, with advantage to itself and the people, add one more to each of them. It would be idle to conceal the fact that the Indian member in every Council often finds himself in a minority while his two colleagues, the permanent officials, the representatives of the Civil Service, with their vested interests, rights and privileges constitute what amounts to a standing majority against him. If there should be two Indian members, to match the two civilians, the Governor of the Province will be obliged to go fully into every question and take upon himself the responsibility of deciding those questions where his Indian and civilian colleagues happen to differ. Such a system will certainly help the administration better than the one which is now in vogue and, according to which, when the civilian members agree on a question and so form a practical majority, the head of the Province, almost invariably, accepts their decision as a matter of course. The impotence of the Indian member is greatly aggravated in the case of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Sir Ali Imam made this plain when he declared that but for the countenance and support

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that it was his exceptional good fortune to enjoy at the hands of the Viceroy, his position might have easily become intolerable. Even assuming that the same good fortune attends the present occupant of the place, which there is in fact much reason to doubt, it would be obviously due to accidental and personal causes and could not afford a guarantee that the Indian view of vital questions had an adequate chance of asserting itself. A touch of humiliation is added to the impotence by the extraordinary power given to a Secretary, always of course a civilian, of referring such orders of a member of Council as he may not approve of to the opinion of the Viceroy or, in the case of Provincial Governments, to any other member—a power which may be so exercised as to reduce the Indian member in all important matters to a mere figurehead.

A more satisfactory arrangement would be to exclude the civil service element altogether from the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Provincial rulers. For it is well-known that none of them is at present master in his own household and their cabinet "is unduly dominated by a group of permanent officials, who enter the Executive Councils automatically imbued with the spirit of the great centralised departments, over which they have been accustomed to preside." For even Viceroys and Governors, fresh from Home, with every desire to liberalise their administration, find themselves hopelessly unable to give effect to the policy which they would like to follow, left to themselves. All over the civilised world the permanent official is excluded from a place in the

cabinet of his country. It would certainly be no injustice to ask the Indian Civil Servant, following the example of other countries, "to close his official career as the trusted and authoritative head of his department without aspiring to political governance."

Everywhere else the services have simply to carry out the policy of the government and discharge efficiently the duties they are called upon to do, but in India the Civil Service not only dominates the everyday administration of the country but it dictates and enforces its own policy. As has been truly remarked, "in India the term Service is a misnomer; for the Service and the State are interchangeable, or, more correctly speaking, the one is entirely lost in the other," and if the popular will is at all to prevail in the Councils of the Provinces, it should be a condition precedent that, if the Civil Service element could not altogether be excluded from it, the Indian element should certainly be equal in number to it.

You may have a Legislative Council with a substantial non-official majority; your resolutions may even be made binding on the Executive; you may provide that one-half of the members of the Council should be Indians. But if the Legislative Councils have no control over the Budget, and the Executive has the right of disposing of your moneys, you will certainly have made no real advance in the reform of the Legislative Councils.

Our representatives can claim no right to determine the sources of revenue nor even the annual expenditure. They can only make a re-

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commendation to the Executive in the form of a resolution that certain expenditure need or need not be incurred. But the fate which generally awaits resolutions by non-official members has already been described.

And it is no wonder that several of the non-official legislative councillors seem to think that their labours in discussing the financial statement are more or less a farce.

The justice of India's claim to have a control of its finances was recognised by Sir William Hunter, when he said :—

> I cannot believe that a people numbering one-sixth of the whole inhabitants of the globe, and whose aspirations have been nourished from their earliest youth on the strong food of English liberty, can be permanently denied a voice in the government of their country. I do not believe that races. . . . . into whom we have instilled the maxim of "No taxation without representation" as a fundamental right of a people, can be permanently excluded from a share in the management of their finances.

The power to raise revenue of course includes what is known as fiscal independence, but this requires special mention in the case of India, owing to the free-trade policy enforced on her by the British suzerain authority. Our contention has been that this free-trade policy is ruinous to the industrial and economic welfare of our people and is maintained for the benefit of the British manufacturer and merchant. The imposition of a duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on imported cotton goods in the recent Budget of the Government of India is the first breach in the free-trade wall and will, it is hoped, lead ere long to the recognition of the right of India, as in the case of the Self-Governing

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Dominions to regulate her tariff in her own interests and so develop her own resources for her own advantage.

It speaks volumes in praise of the patience and public spirit displayed by the non-official members of the legislative councils that, under the most trying and disheartening conditions and "chafing every time at the restrictions placed upon their activity and their usefulness," they should have won the praise of Viceroys and Governors of Provinces for their moderation and self-restraint and for the very helpful advice they have given to the Government from time to time. It would be wrong to say that non-official criticism and advice have not been without effect on the policy and administration of the country but, as the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri points out, " so high is the expectation which the public entertain now-a-days of the legislative councils, and so keen is their sense of the impotence of their representatives from a constitutional point of view that nothing *can satisfy them hereafter short of the power of regulating the policy, disposing of the finances and controlling the executive.*"

Such exactly are the reforms sought to be made in the constitution of Legislative Councils by the Congress and the Moslem League. The Scheme itself "falls short of responsible Government as understood in the Dominions" and " the framers of the scheme have deliberately avoided the full parliamentary system as unsuitable to the present condition of India."

More important still, under the scheme, the expenditure on the army and the navy will not

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be subject to the sanction of the Legislature. An impartial critic will therefore see that what India aims at now "would rank distinctly below the Colonial standard and even below the Irish." We confess ours is but a half-way house.

The other important demands set forth in the Memorandum of the Nineteen and in the Congress and League Scheme are that in any scheme of Imperial Federation, India should be given, through her chosen representatives, a place similar to that of the Self-Governing Dominions; that the Provincial Governments should be made autonomous; that a full measure of local self-government should be immediately granted; that the right to carry arms should be granted to Indians on the same conditions as to Europeans; that Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers and units of a territorial army established in India and, lastly, that commissions in the army should be given to Indian youths under conditions similar to those applicable to Europeans.

These demands are as old as the Congress itself and it is not just to characterise them as new or extravagant. They have been pressed upon the attention of the authorities from time to time and often with the warm and whole-hearted support of some of the distinguished members of the Indian Civil Service itself.

It will be nothing short of political folly to suppose even for a moment that the Indian people, who have, for many long years before the war, been strenuously agitating for these changes, will in any manner minimise their demands after

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the war; on the other hand, the claims of India will be larger, incomparably stronger and louder for her proper place in the Empire. If any one has any doubts on this point, he has only to recall the extraordinary political state of the country, and the character of the unrest which preceded the introduction of the Minto-Morley Reforms. If at that time the Indian people accepted the changes then made in the Government of India, it was because the Reforms gave a clear indication that Indians would be admitted into the inner councils of the Empire, and it is well to remember that the whole country regarded them as only the first instalment of great changes that were sooner or later bound to be made in the government of the country. The scheme formulated by the nineteen non-official elected members and amplified and adopted by the Congress and the Moslem League, is nothing but the logical outcome of the working of Lord Morley's reforms. It contemplates no violent changes, and there is certainly no breaking with the past. It claims, in short, the fulfilment of pledges and promises solemnly made that, "India should be so governed as to enable the Indian people to govern themselves according to the higher standards of the West."

There is no use concealing the fact that "hitherto the policy of England in India has been, to a very large extent, dominated by a fear for the security of British rule." India's magnificent conduct in the present war has proved not only to Great Britain but to her enemies as well how unjust the suspicion has been, and the war

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has brought to the Englishmen as a body the opportunity "to boldly face the realities of the situation in India and to base their government on the will of the people." These reforms are due to us not as the price of our loyalty—and we spurn the very suggestion—but as reforms too long delayed on account of unjust suspicion and distrust, and on account of the unwillingness of those who have been in power to part with vested rights and privileges. Since the Minto-Morley Reforms, much water has flown under the bridge, and even Lord Morley himself could not have foreseen the tremendous outburst of loyalty and enthusiasm which the present war has evoked in the minds of the princes and the people for the British Throne, and for the cause which it is upholding and fighting for at such heavy cost. India has given freely of its money and its blood for the struggle, because it is convinced that in this war Great Britain is "engaged in a mortal combat with despotism, to vindicate the principle of self-government not merely for itself but also for mankind," and that the failure of Great Britain in this titanic struggle means the destruction of self-government and the annihilation of the principle of nationality. And that is why the princes and people of the land are cheerfully sacrificing their lives and their wealth to keep the cause for which Great Britain stands "inviolate." Great Britain to-day is "fighting now to the death against the claim of a single nation or race to impose its civilisation on the world and to dominate the other nations of Europe." "If it is wrong for Germany to attempt to impose

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her *kultur* upon unwilling nations, it is equally wrong for England to attempt to impose her government and civilisation upon India against the will of the Indian peoples." "*We cannot fight for one set of principles in Europe and apply another set of principles in India.*" It will not do at this time of the day for the bureaucracy to advise the Indian people to keep quiet and contented, and bid them worship the "gods" that have given them a rule much more efficient than any Indian rule can be. A good government does not always mean a popular government, and Englishmen, who try to think differently for India, must remember the famous dictum of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman that "good government is no substitute for self-government."

What India aspires to, is, what President Lincoln described as "government of the people, for the people and by the people."

In his *Problem of the Commonwealth* Mr. Lionel Curtis boasts that "the task of preparing for freedom the races which cannot as yet govern themselves is the supreme duty of those who can. It is the spiritual end for which the Commonwealth exists, and material order is nothing except a means to it." While denying the suggestion that we are unfit to govern ourselves we are willing to assume it for the moment and we therefore ask the British nation to declare that Self-Government is to be our goal and that it should undertake its high spiritual task of fitting us for it without any further delay. In Canada, in Australia, in New Zealand and in South Africa the grant of Self-Government has proved a blessing to

them and to the Mother Country. And as has been forcefully pointed out by the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in his admirable little book on *Self-Government for India under the British Flag*, "the grant of responsible government, wherever it has been made, has only strengthened the bond between the suzerain power and the subordinate but autonomous governments—a lesson which may well be borne in mind by those prophets of evil who prognosticate that in India political generosity will be met with ingratitude."

Strangely enough the prophets of evil are the very people who hold all the power, who demand all the prestige of their office, who cling passionately to its rights, its privileges and its emoluments and yet deny the sons of the soil their claim to a legitimate share in the government of the country. The situation has been well-described by His Lordship the Bishop of Madras:—

"The danger of the present situation consists largely in the fact that, with notable exceptions, Englishmen in India are not only opposed to the feelings and sentiments of educated Indians, but also to the inevitable tendency of their work and policy. We need to realise that we cannot now base the Government of India upon any other foundation than that of the will of the Indian peoples, that we are here as servants of the Indian people and not as their masters, that a foreign bureaucracy can only be regarded as a temporary form of Government, and that our ultimate aim and object must be to enable India to become a Self-Governing part of the British Empire, and to develop her own civilization upon her own lines."

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There is no use forgetting the fact "that the conditions, which necessitated and justified an official autocracy administered by a privileged class of foreigners have long passed away;" that at the altar of prestige and efficiency "which means the perfecting of the official machine and completing its domination over the outside public" too much of valuable sacrifice has already been made, that under the present system "a kind of dwarfing or stunting of the Indian race" is going on, that it compels all of us "to live all the days of our life in an atmosphere of inferiority," that it has stereotyped us to the lot of "hewers of wood and drawers of water in our own country," that under that system, to quote the painful statement in the pages of the Report of a Royal Commission from the pen of an Indian Member of the Executive Council: "every Indian officer whether high or low feels that he is not serving himself or his country but is an individual hired to labour for somebody else." The late Sir Henry Cotton who always used to recall with commendable pride that, for a hundred years, his family had been members of the Indian Civil Service, very rightly observed, "the Indian Civil Service is moribund and must pass away after a prolonged period of magnificent work to be replaced by a more popular system which will perpetuate its efficiency while avoiding its defects." As Sir William Wedderburn, another distinguished member of the same service, has observed, "the fault is not in the men, whose average character and abilities are of a high order, but in the system which

places them in a position antagonistic to popular aspirations; which gives them autocratic power without effective control, which stimulates selfish ambition and penalises independence of judgment." British statesmen of all classes and creeds have been talking of late, and indeed of taking some steps to refashion the fabric of the Empire. They would do well to remember what Machiavelli pointed out years ago:

The organic unity of a State cannot be established until subjects are treated not as inferiors but as equals; surely no Federal Empire can stand upon a sound basis whilst one of its chief members, a great country inhabited by three hundred million human beings, is relegated to an unworthy and humiliating position.

What India yearns for is her rightful place in the Empire and she can only have it in the proper sense of the term by being permitted to enjoy the privilege of Self-Government. Let all people, English and Indian who seek to interpret India's noble aspirations, remember the following exhortation made recently by Sir Francis Younghusband to an English audience:—

"*Lay fast hold of this fact that the leaders of Indian opinion and the great mass and bulk of the people have not the slightest desire, hope or ambition to sever the tie with Englagd. In making their demands it is not severance but autonomy at which they aim; Self-Government, indeed, they want; but Self-Government within the Empire, not outside it.*"

On the 22nd March, a few days after the recent Revolution in Russia, Mr. Bonar Law moved the following Resolution in the House of Commons which was unanimously adopted:—

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"This House sends the Duma fraternal greetings and tenders to the Russian people heartfelt congratulations upon the establishment among them of free institutions, in the full confidence that they will lead to not only the rapid and happy progress of the Russian nation, but the prosecution, with renewed steadfastness and vigour, of the war against the stronghold of autocratic militarism which threatens the Liberty of Europe."

Referring to the same event, Mr. Lloyd George, the present Premier, observed that it marked a world-epoch and was the first great triumph of the principles for which Great Britain entered the war *i.e.*, the dethronement of autocracy and the establishment on a sure footing of popular freedom. Speaking again on the 12th of April, at the American Luncheon Club, Mr. Lloyd George made a remarkable pronouncement in the course of which he said :—

"When France in the eighteenth century sent her soldiers to America to fight for freedom and independence of that land, France was also an autocracy. But once the Frenchmen were in America, their aim was freedom, their atmosphere freedom, their inspiration freedom. They acquired the taste for freedom and took it home, and France became free. That is the story of Russia. Russia engaged in this great war for the freedom of Serbia, Montenegro and Roumania. They were fighting for the freedom of Europe and they wanted to make their own country free and have done with it."

How truly can these remarks be applied with

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regard to India! Our countrymen who have gone in thousands to fight in the various theatres of war will surely return with the self-same love for national freedom referred to by the Premier and more than all, redoubled, if we may say so by their own heroic efforts in the cause of the Empire which is also the cause of human liberty. In the same speech the Premier made another very striking observation :—

"There are times in history when this world spins so leisurely along its destined course that it seems for centuries to be at a standstill. There are also times when it rushes along at a giddy pace, *covering the track of centuries in a year.* These are such times."

These remarks apply with no less force to India also. The Premier concluded the remarkable speech in the following eloquent words :—

"The freeing of Russia from oppression which has covered it like a shroud for so long; the great declaration of President Wilson, coming with the might of the great nation he represents into the struggle for liberty—these are the heralds of dawn. And soon Frenchmen, Americans, British, Italians, Russians, yea, and Serbians, Belgians, Montenegrins and Roumanians will emerge into the full light of perfect day."

Are they alone to emerge into the light of perfect day and is India only to be denied this divine heritage?

1st May, 1917
Madras.

G. A. NATESAN.

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PART I

THE MEMORANDUM OF THE NINETEEN

The following Memorandum with regard to Post-War Reforms, signed by nineteen elected Non-Official Members of the Imperial Legislative Council, was submitted to H. E. the Viceroy in October, 1916 :—

There is no doubt that the termination of the war will see a great advance in the ideals of government all over the civilised world, and especially in the British Empire, which entered into the struggle in defence of the liberties of weak and small nationalities and is pouring forth its richest blood and treasure in upholding the cause of justice and humanity in the international relations of the world. India has borne her part in this struggle and cannot remain unaffected by the new spirit of change for a better state of things. Expectations have been raised in this country and hopes held out that after the war the problems of Indian administration will be looked at from a new angle of vision. The people of India have good reasons to be grateful to England for the great progress in her material resources and the widening of her intellectual and political outlook under British rule, and for the steady, if slow, advance up to date.

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Commencing with the Charter Act of India of 1833 up to 1909, the Government of India was conducted by a bureaucracy almost entirely non-Indian in its composition and not responsible to the people of India. The reforms of 1909 for the first time introduced an Indian element in the direction of affairs in the administration of India. This element was of a very limited character. The Indian people accepted it as an indication on the part of the Government of a desire to admit the Indians into the inner Counsels of the Indian Empire so far as the Legislative Councils are concerned. The numbers of non-official members were enlarged with increased facilities for debate and interpellation. The Supreme Legislative Council retained an absolute official majority, and in the Provincial Legislative Councils, where a non-official majority was allowed, such a majority included nominated members and the European representatives in measures largely affecting the people, whether of legislation or taxation, by which Europeans were not directly affected, the Europeans would naturally support the Government, and the nominated members, being nominees of Government, would be inclined to take the same side. Past experience has shown that this has actually happened on various occasions. The non-official majorities, therefore, in the Provincial Councils have proved largely illusory and give no real power to the representatives of the people. The Legislative Councils, whether supreme or provincial, are at present nothing but advisory bodies, without any power of effective control over the Government, Imperial or Provincial.

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The people or their representatives are practically as little associated with the real government of the country as they were before the reforms, except for the introduction of the Indian members in the Executive Councils where again the nomination rests entirely with the Goverment, the people having no voice in the selection of the Indian members. The subject which the Government had in view in introducing the reforms of 1909 was, as expressed by the Prime Minister in his speech in the House of Commons of the second reading of the India Councils Bill, on April 1st 1909, that it was most desirable in the circumstances to give to the people of India the feeling that these Legislative Councils are not mere automatons, the wires of which were pulled by the official hierarchy. This object, it is submitted, has not been attained.

Apart from this question of the constitution of the Legislative and Executive Councils, the people labour under certain grave disabilities which not only prevent the utilisation but also lead to the wastage of what is best in them and are positively derogatory to their sense of national self-respect. The Arms Act, which excludes from its operation Europeans and Anglo-Indians and applies only to the pure natives of the country, the disqualification of Indians for forming or joining Volunteer Corps and their exclusion from the commissioned ranks of the Army, are disabilities which are looked upon with an irritating sense of racial differentiation. It would be bad enough if these were mere disabilities. Restrictions and prohibitions regarding the possession and use of arms

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have tended to emasculate the civil population in India and expose them to serious danger. The position of Indians in India is practically this, that they have no real part or share in the direction of the government of the country and are placed under very great and galling disabilities, from which the other members of the British Empire are exempt and which have reduced them to a state of utter helplessness.

The existence, moreover, of the system of indentured emigration give to the British Colonies and the outside world the impression that Indians as a whole are no better than indentured coolies who are looked upon as very little, if at all, above the slave. The present state of things make the Indians feel that, though theoretically they are equal subjects of the King, they hold a very inferior position in the British Empire. Other Asiatic races also hold the same, if not a worse, view about India and her status in the Empire. Humiliating as this position of inferiority is to the Indian mind, it is almost unbearable to the youth of India, whose outlook is broadened by education and travel in foreign parts, where they come in contact with other free races.

In the face of these grievances and disabilities, what has sustained the people is the hope and faith inspired by the promises and assurances of fair and equal treatment which have been held out from time to time by our Sovereigns and British statesmen of high standing. In the crisis we are now going through, the Indian people have sunk domestic differences between themselves and the Government, and have faithfully and loyally

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stood by the Empire. The Indian soldiers were eager to go to the battlefields of Europe, not as mercenary troops but as free citizens of the British Empire which required their services, and her civilian population was animated by one desire, namely, to stand by England in the hour of her need. Peace and tranquillity reigned throughout India when she was practically denuded of British and Indian troops. The Prime Minister of England, while voicing the sentiments of the English people in regard to India's part in this great war, spoke of Indians as the joint and equal custodians of one common interest and future. India does not claim any reward for her loyalty, but she has a right to expect that the want of confidence on the part of Government, to which she not unnaturally ascribes her present state, should now be a thing of the past, and that she should no longer occupy a position of subordination but one of comradeship. This would assure the people that England is ready and willing to help them to attain Self-Government under the ægis of the Brltish Crown and thus discharge the noble mission which she has undertaken and to which she has so often given voluntary expression through her rulers and statesmen.

What is wanted is not merely good government or efficient administration, but government that is acceptable to the people, because it is responsible to them. This is what, India understands, would constitute the changed angle of vision. If, after the termination of the war, the position of India practically remains what it was before and there is no material change in it, it

will undoubtedly cause bitter disappointment and great discontent in the country, and the beneficent efforts of participation in common danger overcome by common effort will soon disappear, leaving no record behind save the painful memory of unrealised expectations. We feel sure that the Government is also alive to the situation and is contemplating a measure of reform in the administration of the country.

We feel that we should avail ourselves of this opportunity to offer to the Government our humble suggestions as to the lines on which these reforms should proceed. They must in our opinion go to the root of the matter. They must give to the people real and effective participation in the government of the country and also remove those irritating disabilities as regards the possession of arms and a military career which indicate want of confidence in the people and place them in a position of inferiority and helplessness. Under the first head we would take the liberty to suggest the following measures for consideration and adoption :—

(1) In all the Executive Councils, Provincial and Imperial, half the number of members should be Indians. The European element in the Executive Councils should, as far as possible, be nominated from the ranks of men trained and educated in the public life of England, so that India may have the benefit of a wider outlook and larger experience of the outside world. It is not absolutely essential that the members of the Executive Councils, Indians or Europeans, should have experience of actual administration ;

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for, as in the case of Ministers in England, the assistance of the permanent officials of the department is always available to them. As regards Indians we venture to say that a sufficient number of qualified Indians, who can worthily fill the office of members of the Executive Council and hold portfolios, is always available. Our short experience in this direction has shown how Indians like Sir S. P. Sinha, Sir Syed Ali Imam, the late Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer, Sir Shams-ul-Huda and Sir Sankaran Nair have maintained a high level of administrative ability in the discharge of their duties. Moreover, it is well known that the Native States, where Indians have opportunities, have produced renowned administrators like Sir Salar Jang, Sir T. Madhav Rao, Sir Seshadri Iyer, Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao, not to mention the present administrators in the various Native States of India. The statutory obligation now existing, that three of the members of the Supreme Executive Council shall be selected from the public services in India and similar provisions with regard to Provincial Councils should be removed. The elected representatives of the people should have a voice in the selection of the Indian members of the Executive Councils and for that purpose a principle of election should be adopted.

(2) All the Legislative Councils in India should have a substantial majority of elected representatives. We feel that they will watch and safeguard the interests of the masses and the agricultural population, with whom they are in closer touch than any European officer, however sympathetic, can possibly be. The proceedings of

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the various Legislative Councils, the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League bear ample testimony to the solicitude of the educated Indians for the welfare of the masses and their acquaintance with their wants and wishes. The franchise should be broadened and extended directly to the people, Mahomedans or Hindus, wherever they are in a minority, being given proper and adequate representation having regard to their numerical strength and position.

(3) The total number of the members of the Supreme Council should be not less than 150, and of the Provincial Councils not less than 100 for the major provinces and not less than 60 to 75 for the minor provinces.

(4) The budget should be passed in the shape of money bills, fiscal autonomy being conceded to India.

(5) The Imperial Legislative Council should have power to legislate on all matters and to discuss and pass resolutions relating to all matters of Indian administration, and the Provincial Councils should have similar powers with regard to provincial administrations save and except that the direction of military affairs of foreign relations, declarations of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties other than commercial, should be vested in the Government of India. As a safeguard, the Governor-General-in-Council, or the Governor-in-Council, as the case may be, should have the right of veto, but subject to certain conditions and limitations.

(6) The Council of the Secretary of State should be abolished. The Secretary of State

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should, as far as possible, hold in relation to the Government of India a position similar to that which the Secretary of State for the Colonies holds in relation to the Colonies. The Secretary of State should be assisted by two permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should be an Indian. The salaries of the Secretary and the Under-Secretaries should be placed on the British Estimates.

(7) In any scheme of Imperial federation, India should be given, through her chosen representatives, a place similar to that of the Self-Governing Dominions.

(8) The Provincial Governments should be made autonomous as stated in the Government of India's despatch, dated August 25th, 1911.

(9) The United Provinces as well as the other major provinces should have a Governor brought from the United Kingdom with an Executive Council.

(10) A full measure of local self-government should be immediately granted.

(11) The right to carry arms should be granted to Indians on the same conditions as to Europeans.

(12) Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers and units of a Territorial Army established in India.

(13) Commissions in the Army should be given to Indian youths under conditions similar to those applicable to Europeans.

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Signed by

Manindra Chandra Nandy of Kasimbazar.
D. E. Wacha.
Bhupendranath Basu.
Bishen Dutt Shukul.
Madan Mohan Malaviya.
K. V. Rangaswamiengar.
Mazhar-ul-Haque.
V. S. Srinivasan.
Tej Bahadur Sapru.
Ibrahim Rahimtoola.
B. Narasimheswara Sarma.
Mir Asad Ali.
Kamini Kumar Chandra.
Krishna Sahay.
R. N. Bhanja Deo of Kanika.
M. B. Dadabhoy.
Sita Nath Roy.
Mohamed Ali Mohamed.
M. A. Jinnah.

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Sir William Wedderburn*

It is a remarkable document, breathing a spirit of reasoned loyalty to the British Empire, with a hearty desire to promote "an advance in the ideals of the Government all over the civilised world."

This manifesto of Indian aspirations recognises ungrudgingly the benefits of a British connexion: "The people of India have good reasons to be grateful to England for the great progress in her material resources and the widening of her intellectual and political outlook under British rule, and for the steady, if slow, advance in her national life, commencing with her Charter Act of India of 1833." Further, India cordially appreciates the advance made in recent years by the Morley-Minto reforms, which, especially as regards the Executive and Legislative Councils, gave the Indians a certain voice in the management of their own affairs. The time now seems to have come for a further development on similar lines.

Up to the reforms of 1909, the members of the Executive Councils were all Europeans, the majority being officials belonging to the permanent Civil Service; and the Morley-Minto reforms promoted Imperial solidarity in no small degree, when they mitigated this racial monopoly, and admitted into "the inner counsels of the Indian Empire" Indians of such character and attainments as Sir S. P. Sinha, Sir Ali Imam, and Sir Sankaran Nair. As regards the Legislative Councils, the object of the reforms was to extend the elective system, and obtain for the adminis-

* Letter published in the *Nation* of November 11, 1916.

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tration the benefit of independent Indian opinion, allowing to the wearer an opportunity of saying where the shoe pinches him.

What is now the position? India has borne her part in the great world-struggle, and now looks forward to a happier future: "Expectations have been raised and hopes held out that, after the war, the problems of Indian administration will be looked at from a new angle of vision." We hope and believe that these expectations will not be disappointed. Leading British statesmen have declared their desire to satisfy reasonable Indian aspirations; and it is most opportune that a body of trusted leaders representing united India (three of the signatories are ex-Presidents of the Indian National Congress, and three are ex-Presidents of the Moslem League) should have placed before the Viceroy a statement showing in clear terms the reforms which in their judgment are essential for the welfare of India and of the Empire: "We feel," they say, "that we should avail ourselves of this opportunity to respectfully offer to Government our humble suggestions as to the lines on which these reforms should proceed."

Accordingly, as regards the Executive Councils, Imperial and Provincial, they recommend that half the members should be Indians; and that the European members should be men trained and educated in the public life of England. As regards the Legislative Councils, they propose that in all cases there should be a majority of elected members, the Viceroy and Governors retaining their power of veto. Further, it is

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suggested that the elected representatives of the people should have a voice in the selection of the Indian members of the Executive Councils.

These are some of the leading proposals tending to produce that atmosphere of sympathy desired by the King-Emperor. But, apart from constitutional reforms, there exists at the present moment a crucial matter, connected with the military situation, which demands special attention from well-wishers of the British Empire, because it intimately affects the sentiments of the Indian people, and is derogatory to their sense of national self-respect. A humiliating sense of racial differentiation is produced by the Arms Act, applied to Indians, but not to Europeans and Anglo-Indians; by the disqualification of Indians as volunteers; and by their exclusion from the commissioned ranks of the Army. With pathos these representative members of the Viceroy's Council set forth the demoralising effect of such restrictions on the civil population of India, and especially on the younger generation; and they urge that the Government should remove these "irritating disabilities as regards the possession of arms and a military career, which indicate want of confidence in the people, and place them in a position of inferiority and helplessness."

India is a lover of peace, but she possesses almost unlimited man-power, and her desire is to have her hands unbound, and, as a good comrade, to stand by England in securing victory for "the cause of justice and humanity in the international relations of the world."

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In this connection the following extracts from the Report of the British Congress Committee for the year 1915-1916 may be read with interest :—

The essential principle of self-government was declared by Lord Hardinge, when he indicated the safe path of Indian reforms, founded on provincial autonomy, with a persistent, if gradual, transfer of authority from the official body to the representatives of the people. This, we trust, will be the direction in which Parliament will proceed. But in order that the Viceroy may be in a position to carry out the orders of the Home Government, it is absolutely necessary that his hands should be strengthened. At present the Viceroy is not master in his own household, the existing practice giving to the permanent officials an exceptional position of authority in his Executive Council. The constitution of that Council is determined by the India Act of 1861 (24 and 25 Victoria, c. 67), clause 3, providing that three out of five ordinary members of that Council are to be persons who have been at least ten years in the service of the Crown in India; and this provision has been interpreted for the sole benefit of the Covenanted Civil Service; so that the Viceroy's 'Cabinet' is unduly dominated by a group of permanent officials, who enter the Executive Council automatically, imbued with the spirit of the great centralised departments, over which they have been accustomed to preside. Under this system a Viceroy, fresh from England and unfamiliar with the routine of Indian administration, is not

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in a position to give effect to the policy prescribed for him by Parliament and the Crown.

The remedy is a simple one; for the time has come to amend clause 3 of the India Act of 1861, by providing that the Viceroy, with the approval of the Secretary of State, shall have power to nominate the members of his own Executive Council from among men, British and Indian, of ripe experience in public affairs, their term of office ending with that of the Viceroy. Such amendment will only be an extension of the beneficial practice which, for the last eighty years, have given to India the services of such men of mark as Lord Macaulay, Mr. James Wilson, Sir Charles Trevelyan, Sir Sumner Maine, Lord Hobhouse, Sir Courtenay Ilbert, and Sir Guy Wilson. In more recent times the solidarity of the Empire has been strengthened by the addition of distinguished Indians: Sir S. P. Sinha, Sir Ali Imam, and Sir Sankaran Nair. It appears that this reform is a condition, precedent to all other reforms. The principle involved is one that has been accepted by all civilised Governments. In England, especially, it has been the settled rule that a member of the permanent Civil Service must be content to close his official career as the trusted and authoritative head of his department without aspiring to political governance. The task of a British Premier would be an impossible one if he was not free to choose the members of his Cabinet from among his political supporters, and was compelled to accept as his colleagues the permanent chiefs of the administrative departments.

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Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta, K.C.S.I.

Late Member, Council of the Secy. of State for India.

The Secretary of State and the Viceroy should be empowered to make some considered statement of Imperial policy in relation to India after the War. No responsible party or body in India was making extravagant demands. . . . India did not know what to expect, and she could not be blamed for fearing that, as too often in the past, her interests and her cause might suffer injury and neglect. The future of the Dominions in the Imperial system was a subject of constant discussion, but the people of India could not be encouraged by such discussion. Recent history showed that a future in which the affairs of India were subject to the influence of Council opinion—that is, to the opinion of British Dominions from which Indians were debarred—might well be no advance upon the present. The times are critical, but India provides England with a magnificent opportunity of making the future not merely secure but glorious.—*Interview published in the "Manchester Guardian."*

. . . . . .

The comradeship of the various races and comunities in warfare would have a most beneficial effect in reaching a solution, since it would enable an approach to these questions in a new and different spirit. It would be a spirit, not of resentment or anger in regard to their family controversies, but of compromise and of finding out some reasonable solution which would be compatible with the self-respect of all parties.—*From a Speech in London, December 16, 1914.*

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Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, *Bart.*

As in other parts of the Empire, so in India too, speculation is busy as to what change India's position is likely to undergo after the War internally as well as externally. Among the many pronouncements on the subject, I single out as the most notable the Memorandum of the Nineteen which epitomises the demands of India.

No keen and dispassionate observer of the progress of political thought, education and action in India can afford to dismiss the Memorandum as an ill-conceived document. There may be honest differences of opinion as to details in the scheme proposed; but it cannot be denied that the Memorandum expresses the deliberate and earnest convictions of the leaders of thought in this country, and as such it deserves very careful consideration. It has had the support of all the elected members of the Supreme Legislative Council, except a very few; and in the case of the latter, their action has been repudiated by their constituencies in no uncertain terms. Consequently, the Memorandum can very well be described as being the country's mandate on the subject. It is now too late in the day to contend that the educated classes neither lead nor represent the masses in India. Evidence to the contrary has gathered with overwhelming force during the last few years, and the proceedings of the Congress and Moslem League meetings at Lucknow have demonstrated the strength and solidarity of the National sentiment.

It would be as unwise to shut one's eyes to these signs of the times as to say that the

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grievances and disabilities which the Memorandum asks to be redressed and removed are imaginary. It is a happy relief to note that at least one of the disabilities catalogued in the Memorandum, or to speak more accurately, only a part of it, has since been removed, though temporarily, by an inevitable change in the military policy of the Government of India. Regarding it, however, one can hardly resist the remark that even there only the fringe of the problem has been touched so far. Let us hope that this as well as other questions affecting the honour, dignity and welfare of India will be dealt with in a statesmanlike spirit. For there is no doubt that otherwise discontent and disaffection will prevail and ruin the work that wise and sympathetic statesmanship has achieved during the last few years.

Nor need any doubt be seriously entertained as to India's fitness to govern herself within certain limits, after the overwhelming proof of high administrative talent and ability given by those who have had or are having opportunities of responsible administration. Moreover, how is fitness to be judged, unless the opportunity to show it is there? If, therefore, it can be shown that wherever there has been an opportunity, the required fitness has been amply displayed, there ought to be an end of that line of argument. And even apart from it all, it must not be forgotten that the sagacious dictum of the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, that good government is no substitute for self-government, sums up the teaching of history on the subject of the evolution of governments.

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Mr. Yusuf Ali, I.C.S.

It is not my purpose in the present article to discuss the lines of reform as put forward either by the nineteen elected members who memorialised the Viceroy or by Lord Sydenham and other publicists who consider that a constitutional control of the Executive in India would be disastrous. But I ought to say that it would be unwise to ignore the nineteen elected members or to call them unrepresentative, seeing that they form the only constitutional organ through which Indian reform can be brought to bear on the immediate problems of India. To say that their proposals have not the support of the military castes is to ignore such simple facts as that, for example, a great part of the Muhammadan electorate in the United Provinces and elsewhere is composed of retired Indian military officers. Indeed, three of the thirteen items put forward appeal specially to the classes with martial instincts—namely, the right to bear arms, the right of volunteering for India's defence, and the grant of the King-Emperor's commissions to Indian officers. The proposals relate mainly to complicated constitutional machinery, and as such cannot be expected to contain much that is famliar to the masses. We should naturally expect them from constitutional students rather than from the man in the street. It is not legitimate criticism to divorce the proposals from the interests of the agricultural classes, seeing that the signatories include the elected representatives of the Bengal landholders, and the Central Provinces landholders,

the Madras landholders, and the Orissa landholders. The significance of this will be understood when it is stated that the landholders have special class representation by election, and that they are a powerful body, with strong provincial associations of their own. Besides these special elected representatives of the landed interest, many influential landholders represent general or communal interests, e.g., the Honourable the Raja of Mahmudabad, who represents the Muhammadans of the United Provinces, and has signed the memorial in that capacity.

It is not merely the signatures or their representative character that entitle the memorial to the respectful consideration of all who are in a position to influence public policy in the Empire. Its contents raise very large issues of public policy. No one supposes that these large issues can be dealt with summarily. But if it is true that Indian elective representation in the Viceroy's Legislative Council provides a valuable means for the expression of Indian opinion, it cannot be right that such opinion, after it is expressed, should be dismissed airily as outside the region of practical politics. Wise statesmanship will give serious consideration to the demands put forward by those who are most affected by them, and where it rejects, should state its reasons for the information and education of public opinion. Nor are its functions limited to the rejection or acceptance of demands: it has to frame a constructive programme which would work in practice and be acceptable—if only as a *modus vivendi*—to all classes who are affected by it, both those who

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have to work it and those who have to work under it. . . . . .

What we want is clearly to understand the Indian point of view; to adjust it to facts not realised from that point of view; and to construct an administrative and legislative machine which will give scope to the gradual expansion of the present narrow electoral area, and the effective working of the will of the best and most stable elements out of the present artificially divided communities, which are showing a healthy sign of political coalescence.

The British people will not be true to their own instincts and traditions—those under which the Empire has been built up—if they do not address themselves to these problems while the Empire is on the anvil. They have learnt by the ordeal of war to gauge worth by service. India will not be ashamed if such a test is applied to her.—*From "The Nineteenth Century and After," February*, 1917.

Sir Sidney Lee, Kt., LL.D.

(*Of the University of London.*)

I can only assure you that I earnestly hope after the war to see adopted every measure which is prudently calculated at one and the same time to increase the prosperity and happiness of my Indian fellow-subjects of the British Crown, and to make for the additional security of the British Empire. *I am especially anxious that in any scheme of Imperial Federation, India should be given, through her chosen representatives, a place similar to that of the Self-Governing Dominions.*

Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E.

(Formerly M. P. for Bethnal Green.)

In my opinion, nothing short of the privileges and rights enjoyed by other parts of the British Empire will do for India, with every distinction of race and colour at present in vogue eliminated. . . . . I look forward to the people of India "taking their proper place in the comity of nations side by side with the other children of the British Empire." That, in brief, comprises all that British citizenship means for the people of India, adapted to their special circumstances and interests.

It is likely that some scheme of an Imperial character will be evolved as a result of the War. India should make it perfectly plain that she expects to have adequate representation on such a body, and that matters touching her peculiar affairs and interests must be controlled by her own representatives there.

Rajah Sir Harnam Singh, K.C.I.E.

The Post-War Reforms Memorandum submitted to the Government of India by the 19 elected Members of H. E. The Viceroy's Legislative Council cannot but appeal to and enlist the warm support of every son of India—for in it have been carefully reasoned and moderately set forth the views of a nation, whose demand for self-government is only the natural outcome of British ideals and teaching. If, after a century of that rule, we were still considered unfit for full participation in the government of our country, surely it would be neither a creditable reflection on the British

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Government nor in keeping with the high traditions of an Empire which has always stood for freedom and the true rights of nations.

Opinion may differ as to the fitness of the country for all the reforms demanded, but I do not think any sensible man will deny that reforms on a large and liberal scale are needed and are desirable, and India will not be satisfied unless she is henceforth treated equally with the Dominions. . . . . .

It has been said that India cannot be looked upon as a nation because of her varied religions and tongues, but the spirit of nationality has been awakened in us, and true love of country knows no barriers of caste and creed or language, as was shown recently when the leaders of the Congress Committee and the Muslim League united on a common platform.

I have carefully gone through the pamphlet that has been presented to the public by Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, and I think he has made out an excellent case for Self-Government.

A start has got to be made, and I think after the war will be a most opportune time. India's loyalty to the British Throne has been put to the test, and she has come out with flying colours. It will be a shortsighted policy if she is not treated in a most liberal spirit by those to whom Providence has entrusted her destinies—for a contented India will be a far greater asset to Great Britain than a disappointed and discontented nation.

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Dr. Sir S. Subrahmania Iyer, K.C.I.E.

(Formerly Judge, Madras High Court.)

In my humble judgment, the constitutional changes urgently called for in the interests of India cannot, in any right sense, be spoken of as Post-War problems. Those changes have, as I have said more than once prior to this, been long due. If they and the war, now being waged in Europe, have any connection with each other, it is that the war has shown, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the reasons for the non-concession of the required changes, tacitly maintained, have absolutely no foundation. The staunch loyalty of the people and princes of India to the Empire at this crisis and the noble services rendered by the Indian army must show, if anything can show it, that India has thrown her lot with that of the Empire indissolubly.

It follows that the withholding of those constitutional changes, which will give to India her rightful place in the Empire, would be, not because of any *bonâ fide* belief on the part of our Rulers that the grant thereof is inexpedient and disadvantageous to the Empire, but through palpable unwillingness to act justly in the matter. I have long held that to expect that changes in question would come into existence as the result of a mere sense of duty in the minds of the Rulers is futile. Is it possible to conceive of a more telling piece of evidence of the spirit which pervades those who hold in their hands our destinies than the astonishing Report of the Public Services Com-

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mission, just published, containing recommendations that are sure to shock every unbiased mind in the country—recommendations so open to objection in many ways and specially, for example, as, if given effect to, likely to entail heavy additional cost by way of increased emoluments to the members of the favoured services, while it has long been the cry of the people that the burden under this head is already too heavy to be borne by a country on the throes of poverty.

It is scarcely necessary to say that immense vested interests of different kinds operate against any spontaneous action on the part of our Rulers in the direction of freeing India from the state of dependence it is now under. Such liberation can only take place as the result of unavoidable pressure brought to bear by us on them. And until the name of Home Rule becomes a household word even in every village from one end of it to the other and unless the demand for such rule becomes so irresistible as to make even the bureaucracy to admit it to be that of the people of all India, there is really no hope for her salvation.

Mr. Sheik Mohammed Omar.

(*Bar.-at-Law, Amritsar.*)

The demands are very modest and constitutional, and must have the support of every sane son of the soil.

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The Hon. Mr. Manomohandas Ramji.

(*Member, Legislative Council, Bombay.*)

We are living in moving times when high hopes are entertained about the future and when the contribution of India to the defence of the Empire has stirred up the patriotism and loyalty of Indian people and caused both the United Kingdom and its Self-Governing Colonies to view Indian political problems from a different angle of vision. There is a natural demand on the part of our countrymen at this juncture for the administration of their affairs by themselves, for it must always be remembered that a strong and contented India is the most valuable asset of the Empire. What the juncture however requires, both from the point of view of our interests and our duty to the Government, is to put forward our demands clearly and frankly and in no half-hearted manner. It was for this purpose that our nineteen representatives in the Imperial Council prepared a representation on the question of political advancement in this country and sent it on to the proper authorities. I regret, however, with due deference to these gentlemen occupying an eminent position in the world of politics, that the scheme they forwarded cannot be regarded as more than a half-way measure. It is no use pegging away at these half-way measures. What we want is, as I have stated above, a full and clear expression of our demands. Expansion of Councils, both Imperial and Provincial, will not avail us much as the working of the expansion of Councils, according to the Minto-Morley Reforms

Scheme of 1909 has shown. What I should want our National Congress and Moslem League as our representative institutions and all our countrymen to demand is shortly this:—There should be a Central Indian Parliament of about 500 or 600 members elected from different parts of the country, and the Government should be by parties as it is in all the civilised countries. The party in majority will be the party in power appointing all the Ministers of the State, the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker being either nominated by the Viceroy or elected by the House. The head of the whole of the Indian administration will be the Viceroy appointed by His Majesty the King-Emperor, who will have the veto power for vetoing any of the measures passed by the Parliament. All the Provincial Governorships should be abolished, and provinces should be administered by Commissioners appointed by the party in power.

The military and naval commanders should, like the Viceroy, be appointed directly by His Majesty the King-Emperor, the military police of India being governed, of course, by the Imperial policy. Under such a system fiscal autonomy, the enrolment of Indians as volunteers, granting of Commissions to them, abolition of the Arms Act and all other reforms, for which we have been agitating will, of course, be presupposed. I have given but the outlines of the scheme I have in view.

Instead of demanding a diluted scheme of reform, getting a portion of it and again agitating for a further instalment, keeping the country thus

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in a constant state of agitation, it would be more desirable from all points of view to demand a full-fledged measure which the British people, with their traditional love of liberty, will not surely refuse.

The Hon. Rao Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.

(*Member, Legislative Council, Madras.*)

The Memorandum of the elected representatives in the Imperial Council fairly summarises the position taken up by the rank and file of the public men in India on the subject of reforms after the War.

The Memorandum embodies the demands made in the Congress since 1885, and is based on existing foundations and is neither revolutionary nor impractical. The scheme of Self-Government now put forward is intended to transfer the Executive Government of this country from the Secretary of State to the Government of India which, in its turn, is to be generally under the control of the Legislative Councils. I must, therefore, express my surprise at the suggestion of Sir K. G. Gupta about the need of representation of India in the British Parliament by one or two Indian Members, a suggestion which would perpetuate the continuance of the control of the domestic affairs of India by the British Parliament. This proposal is inconsistent with the All-India Congress scheme and also the Memorandum which contemplates the representation of India only in an Imperial Council or Parliament, intended for the discussion of purely Imperial matters affecting the whole British Empire. The desirability of Parliamentary re-

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presentation for India was discussed by the All-India Congress Committee in April last and was deliberately rejected. In fact, the tendency in Great Britain has been towards the creation of local parliaments for England, Scotland and Wales for the transaction of all business of a domestic nature, and the present scheme for Self-Government of India generally follows the same line. The Memorandum and the scheme of the All-India Congress Committee and the Muslim League are now before the country and have been freely criticised. Even those who do not see eye to eye with us have been generally impressed with the soundness of the demands now put forward. A point on which some amount of criticism has been levelled is the proposal in the Memorandum and the Congress scheme regarding the constitution of the Executive Councils; the elective principle has for the present been waived, but unless the constitution of the Executive Government is thoroughly representative and the men chosen have the confidence of the Councils, there is bound to be a dead-lock. Sir K. G. Gupta wishes to give a free hand to the Viceroy in the matter of the selection of his Cabinet. The point, however, is that the Cabinet of the Viceroy and the Governors should have at the same time the confidence of the Councils who are to lay down the general policy of the Government. There are precedents in the history of the Colonial Government of Great Britain for the proposals now made in this respect, and the present scheme proceeds on the lines followed elsewhere in the evolution of a system of Self-

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Government in the Colonies of the British Empire. The criticism, therefore, that this part of the scheme amounts to the introduction of *quasi*-Parliamentary institutions with a populace at the back of the legislators, who can give a more or less intelligent mandate, has no force and many parallels in the history of the Colonies can be cited to justify the present position. The scheme has also the merit of proceeding on existing foundations. The only thing that now remains to be done is for the All-India Congress Committee and the Muslim League to hold a session in Great Britain, and to meet and discuss the scheme with the British public.

Shaikh Mushir Hosain Kidwai (of Gadia.)

(*Bar.-at-Law, London.*)

There is no doubt that if we want a definite change in the system of government in India, we shall have to make a tremendous, united, organised and strong effort to achieve our object. We should never forget that the bureaucracy in India is all supreme; that it will do its best, move heaven and earth, to remain supreme even after the war; and that as long as it remains supreme, there cannot be any real reforms.

I have read the memorandum submitted by all the enlightened and progressive unofficial members of the Imperial Legislative Council to the Viceroy. I think the suggestions are very practical though very moderate. In fact, they are too moderate. *India must be self-governing.* . . .

As far as the existing Indian States are concerned, all the interference of the "paramount"

power and the domineering by the Residents in any internal affairs of the State should be stopped, and all the Treaty obligations should be *faithfully* respected. There is no reason to drag in those States in the administrative machinery of the whole of India. They should remain separate entities bound only by treaty obligations to that part which is called British India. The system of government of the Indian States should be modelled on the system in vogue in England, viz., that of constitutional monarchy.

But to secure these changes by constitutional methods, the only way is to organise a powerful agitation in the British Islands.

And it is time *now* to make preparation for it.

. . . . . .

What I am afraid of is that after the war the effort of the Bureaucracy and the Civil Service clique, to keep the reins of the Government and the luxurious berths and billets in their own hands, will be more desperate and therefore more dangerous. The time for the cry of "Home Rule for India" is now.

Why can an autocratic Czar proclaim Home Rule for Poland during the war, and a constitutional King not do the same for India? Why could not Poland wait? Why must India wait? A declaration by the British Parliament giving absolute Home Rule to India should be made now, that Anglo-India is not strong enough to thwart the scheme—now that the British Public is alive to the services rendered by India.

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The Rev. Dr. J. Lazarus.

(*Late Editor, The Christian Patriot.*)

Post-War Reforms have become a necessity now. Much was expected of the Public Services Commission. The belated Report has since been issued. But what has it brought? Nothing but deep disappointment which is universal. We asked for bread and we have been given a stone. How could it have been otherwise? The majority in the Commission consisted of Anglo-Indians and others not enamoured of the aspirations of Indian leaders. Half the Commission ought to have consisted of Indians. And the President, in cases of equality of votes, might have exercised his judgment and cast in his vote for the one or the other party. . . . . .

Nothing short of Home Rule can satisfy Indian patriots. They could administer public trusts much better and far more successfully than foreigners. They deserve it and therefore demand it. They respect parental supremacy but long for the grown-up child's freedom. Witness the success and boldness with which political and social reforms are introduced in our Protected States. A foreign mind cannot sympathise with the Indian any more than an angel can enter into the feelings of a human being. The foreigner cannot forget that he is white, while the Indian is not. What has been possible for Japan in fifty years cannot be impossible for India in a hundred.

We want a Parliament of our own at Delhi, or rather at Nagpore, which is about the real centre of India. Let Governors and Viceroys be sent

out from England or even chosen in India by royal letters patent. But all other members of this Parliament or Assembly as well as those of the Provinces should be elected and not nominated. There may be a higher house of princes, but with their powers limited, not as in the present House of Lords. The Indian Parliament would then arrange for the recruitment of the various services for which, of course, their fellow-subjects in the United Kingdom and the Colonies will be entitled to compete on equal terms, the tests being naturally held in this country.

In proof of our cosmopolitan spirit, any foreigner naturalised in India, and making this country his home till death, should be permitted to enter our Parliament, or hold any high office for which he may be fitted.

Until such time as India is left entirely to itself, the Executive as well as Imperial Councils should consist of an equal number of Indian and Foreign members. The charge brought by non-Brahmins, and this only in South India, that the Brahmins would monopolise, as they largely do at present, the highest offices, is untenable. Let the non-Brahmins shake off their intellectual sloth, and take to study in right earnest, and they will be as successful as their more enterprising brethren. Nepotism is universal, but it can be triumphantly fought against by competitive examinations. An Indian Christian rose to be Dewan in a Brahmin-ruled Protected State! . .

It is a fiction to say that we cannot and do not represent the masses. The masses are proverbially slow. It is only recently that their education was

made compulsory even in England. Home Rule in India will take up universal primary education as one of its first reforms. As soon as we have Home Rule, many a Todar Mall will arise and re-establish and regulate the finances and industries of this huge Empire. It is want of liberty that checks our growth in every direction, save slavery and stagnation.

Liberty is badly needed in religion as well as politics. We want the imported Christianity of Europe to go back to that continent and continue its contradictory appeals to the cause of right-eousnses through its learned divines and leave India to choose the religion best suited to its genius and traditions. The cry must be taken up for Home Rule, or radical reforms leading speedily thereto, from one end of the country to the other by all Indians, irrespective of race or creed.

Mr. Satyananda Bose.

You can no longer satisfy Indian aspirations by reforms piecemeal. Reform must not be of the nature of a patchwork. It must be organic. We stand up for political rights. Mere concessions of minor privileges will not do. One dozen more of listed appointments, or half-a-dozen Commissions in the Army will not touch the fringe of the question. . . . . It is needless to discuss any particular scheme of reform. It has been discussed threadbare. Whatever reform is granted, must be tested by one principle. We will see if it makes for Self-Government in the country.

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Mrs. Annie Besant.

The memorandum of the nineteen members of the Supreme Legislative Council, and the scheme passed by the National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, mark out the road of reforms which the Nation is determined to tread. The latter affords a workable scheme for a peaceable and easy transition from the present entirely irresponsible but partially representative Government to a Government responsible to the almost wholly representative Legislative Council. As the President of the National Congress pointed out, it is a transition scheme and should be regarded as such. The third clause of the Congress resolution marks the end of the transition, the entry of India into the proposed Imperial Council, as a Self-Governing Nation, equal in status to the Self-Governing Dominions. . . . . .

Nothing less than the whole scheme should be accepted, for it forms the next step, and anything less would be marking time.

It seems to me unnecessary to put forward any Post-War Reforms except the United Scheme. Obtaining that, we obtain power to repeal all the obnoxious and repressive laws which disgrace our Statute-Book, and to place on it the beneficent legislation necessary for Indian prosperity. We can then adjust taxation, regulate expenditure, educate our people, foster our industries, improve our agriculture. It is unwise to dissipate energy over many reforms when one reform, that of our legislatures, will give us power. Let us then concentrate on the Congress-League Scheme.

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Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai.

(*Ex-Member, Madras Legislative Council.*)

The memorandum of the nineteen non-official elected members gives articulate expression to the reasonable and modest aspirations and expectations of our countrymen. As regards the main demands stated therein for securing effective voice to the representatives of the people in the internal administration of the country, there can be no difference of opinion; and any differences that may arise with reference to the details of the scheme, I think can be easily remedied when the regulations are framed. Timely reforms will surely strengthen and ensure the goodwill and the loyal attachment of India to England, while advancing at the same time the prosperity and the welfare of the masses of this country, and adding to the glory of the British Isles and the British race.

Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon.

(*Editor, "The Indian Patriot," Madras.*)

The proposals formulated by the Indian National Congress are more or less on the lines sketched in the Memorandum submitted by the 19 elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council, which has been vigorously and even fanatically attacked by Lord Sydenham. Indian politicians have wondered at the attitude and temper of Lord Sydenham, who belongs not to the Civil Service, but to a class of statesmen preferred by Indians for their liberal views and larger ideas, for freedom from local prejudices, and for their

ability to take a detached view of Indian affairs. That such a man should come forward to declare opinions which are so reactionary in their character and so despotic in their tendency, would amaze Indians. . . . . .

From the way in which the *Ex*-Governor writes, it is evident that he is not prepared to place trust in the people of India. He puts forth the time-honoured theory that the educated classes, by reason of their education, have become a class apart from the masses. He probably believes in it. It is the English officials that fill that rôle, and they will do it for ever. Not a single fact has been cited to illustrate this either in the matter of administration or in the matter of legislation. What we regret most is, that a man in the position of Lord Sydenham, who has the prestige of having occupied the high position of Governor of Bombay, should indentify himself with the extreme school of English politicians. Such men can hardly find fault with the extreme school of Indian politicians, who on the opposite side follow their example.

The Hon. Rai Bahadur Bakhshi Sohan Lal.

(*Member, Punjab Legislative Council.*)

I am entirely in favour of the Memorandum with regard to Post-War Reforms signed by nineteen non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council and submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy.

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The Hon. Munshi Narayan Prasad Ashthana.

(*Member, The U. P. Legislative Council.*)

The reforms sought by the memorandum are very moderate in character, and although in a way they might be said to transform the present system of administration, yet they are necessary for a free and manly development of the Indian nation under the protection of the British Crown. Unless and until the people in India have full control over the purse and over the policy of administration, no improvement in national status is possible. . . .

Any reform to deserve that name should be towards giving the Indians an effective voice and participation in the government and administration of the country. Such schemes as will make the Government look popular without conceding to the people real measure of Self-Government will not do. In my opinion the memorandum should not have stopped where it does. It should have prayed for the immediate introduction of universal free and compulsory education, for the separation of judicial and executive functions, for a total repeal of the Arms Act instead of asking for a less restrictive measure, for the examination of the Indian Civil Service to be held in India, for the repeal of all statutory disabilities applying to Indians in this country as well as in the Colonies and for a representation in the Imperial Parliament.

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Mr. N. Subbarau Pantulu.

(*Joint-General Secretary, Indian National Congress, & formerly Member, Imperial Legislative Council.*)

It is necessary, as urged by Sir S. P. Sinha, President of the Bombay Congress, "that there should be a frank and full statement of the policy of the Government as regards the future of India, so that hope may come where despair holds sway, and faith where doubt spreads its darkening shadow," and that England should make an unequivocal declaration that her policy in the government of this country is to confer Self-Government on India. . . . Hitherto the reforms introduced have been in the nature of makeshifts, halting and unsatisfactory, to meet the pressing necessity of the occasion, and there has been no steady policy to prepare India for assuming the responsibilities, and enjoying the privileges of Self-Government. . . . The Congress demands, therefore, that the policy of drift should once for all be abandoned and that a Royal Proclamation be issued, announcing "that the aim and intention of British policy is to confer Self-Government on India at an early date."

It is essential that the present system of ruling the Legislative Councils by official majorities, whether secured under statute or otherwise, should be abandoned. The constitution of the Legislative Councils should be so modified as to give them an effective control over the acts of the Executive Government, and the voice of the elected representatives of the people should be made supreme, both in the Provincial and Indian Legislative Councils, subject to proper safeguards.

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Mr. Abbas S. Tyabji.

(*Retired Judge, Baroda.*)

No one who has followed carefully the development that has been going on in the direction of Self-Government ever since Lord Hardinge's memorable Delhi despatch, can doubt for a moment the wisdom of the elected members of the Imperial Council presenting their Memorial, in which are crystallized the aspirations of the present generation of His Imperial Majesty's Indian subjects at the moment they did. The claims made therein would have been made by the representatives of the people had there been no war at all, for they represent only the normal growth of the desire in the people to obtain a greater share in the internal administration of their country, the satisfaction of which cannot be indefinitely postponed. It may be that the actual carrying out of the reforms asked for may have to be postponed for some time, but there is no reason why a scheme to promote the reforms so ardently desired by us all—Hindus and Mahomedans—should not be worked out and kept ready for being brought into operation the moment the present abnormal conditions ceased.

The proposals put forward in the Memorial to the Viceroy are not of the nature of reforms which can be considered properly only after the war. The Post-War Reforms will be concerned not with the machinery for the internal government of India, but with its rights and duties as a member of the Imperial Federation, which is

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bound to come into existence the moment the present war is over. . . . .

The present desire for Self-Government is so urgent and insistent as to bridge the differences so long existing between Mahomedans and Hindus in a manner undreamt of no longer than three years ago. When there are forces in operation which have brought about such unity in the desire of the whole nation for Self-Government, it will be worse than mere folly to ignore the urgency of the reforms asked for and to postpone all considerations of them till after the war. For the moment we must trust to the wisdom of those at the helm, and this we can do with a certain amount of confidence, knowing that the Viceroy's endeavours will be towards the securing a practical response to this new desire for progress.

Dewan Bahadur Krishnasami Rao, C.I.E.

(*Retired Dewan of Travancore.*)

The Memorandum on Post-War Reforms submitted to H. E. the Viceroy by nineteen elected non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council, is a remarkable document. The Hon'ble Members who have signed it, deserve the thanks of the Indian public for the new form of constitutional representation, adopted by them. It must receive better consideration than the resolutions of the National Congress and Provincial and District Conferences, as it proceeds from those whose title to represent the Indian public cannot be disputed, they being the chosen representatives of Indians under the law. It places before the Government the aspirations of Indians in clear and expressive language.

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Mr. Syed Mohammad.

(*Bar.-at-Law, Bankipur.*)

The Post-War Reforms suggested by the elected members of the Supreme Legislative Council are very modest and the least that India can be satisfied with.

India has long suffered the humiliation of being treated as slaves by the Colonials. In the Middle Ages, the real slaves were treated as members of the family by the Hindus and Mussalmans alike. But in this civilised world, under the civilised British rule, Indians hold no better position than slaves and are treated shamefully in some parts of the British Empire and in their own country; they have hitherto been regarded as hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Indian opinion, Hindu, Mohammedan, Parsee and Sikh, are all one in this matter, that a real and effective system of reforms should be immediately introduced in this country after the war. We trust that the British statesmen are fully alive to the situation.

Discontented citizens are never a source of strength to an Empire. The mighty Roman Empire suffered more through its discontented Provincials than even by the invasion of Barbarians. Those of the conquered people, who were admitted within the fold of Roman citizenship, fought bravely and loyally against Hannibal and at last crushed him. Teachings of History are never without pregnant lessons to all who would learn them.

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Mr. Amar Singh, Pleader, Punjab.

Matters raising impressions of mistrust in the people by the Government, invidious distinctions which make people feel themselves foreigners in their own country: with a comparatively few honorable exceptions, the overbearing attitude of Europeans and those who pass as such towards the sons of the soil: indifference as to the safeguarding of the Indian interests abroad, are the four main factors which, I think, are the head and front of unrest in India. The Indian political movements are but a protest, not only against the form of government, but against the whole mental attitude of Anglo-India as well. Tardiness in eliminating these factors of discontentment has cast doubt on the *bonâ fides* of British Rule in India. The doubt has led to desperation which, in turn, set fire to the fuel of discontentment emblazening it into anarchical outrages.

The Memorandum places before the Government the real situation in a nutshell. Malady is no longer a secret—unrest is there, and there is the political crime. The Nineteen have suggested the remedy. The treatment rests with the Government. It is fortunate both for the people and Government to avail themselves of the suggestion.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur V. K. Ramanujachari.

(*Member, Madras Legislative Council.*)

I unreservedly accept the suggestions made by the nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council. . . . . .

I accept the principles, and do not consider it necessary to go into details.

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Mr. Sadiq Ali Khan.

(*Bar.-at-Law, Lucknow.*)

In my opinion the Memorandum on Post-War Reforms presented recently to H. E. the Viceroy, by 19 elected non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council, is *extremely* moderate. In internal matters we ought to demand Self-Government like that of Canada. The Viceroy should have no more power than the Governor-General of Canada. His position should be exactly similar to that of the Governor-General. The Executive Government, whatever name or form it might take, should be completely responsible to the Imperial Legislative Council. In money matters, the Legislative Council should be supreme and its power should be full and complete. Civilians should have no place in the Executive Council nor on the Judicial Bench. Provincial Governments should have Governors at their head. The Executive Councils and Legislative Councils should have similar power to those of the Imperial Executive and Legislative Councils in Provincial matters. The number of members should be increased a great deal, and every one of whom should be elected. The Imperial Council (Legislative) should consist of, say, 500 members and the Provincil Councils of 300 members in the cases of Major Provinces, and of 250 in cases of Minor Provinces, so that all shades of opinion should be represented in each Council. The franchise should be on as wide a basis as possible. Education should have privileges of its own, *e.g.*, a graduate as such should be qualified to be a candidate of any of the Councils.

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Rai Bahadur Baikunth Nath Sen.

(*Ex-Member, Bengal Legislative Council.*)

In any scheme of Imperial Federation, India should be given a place similar to that of the Self-Governing Dominions in the British Empire.

The Government of India should possess fiscal autonomy and must in that respect be free from the control of the Secretary of State for India and should have the privilege and right of revising customs duties and Indian tariffs and of removing, reducing or imposing any tax or cess.

The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished, and there should be a readjustment of the relations between the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India.

The Secretary of State for India is an irresponsible officer; when he wishes to introduce a new policy of administration or when he vetoes any measure suggested by the Government of India, he advises the King-Emperor (not in Cabinet) only and takes His Majesty's sanction, he is in no way under the control of the Cabinet Ministers. This state of things is undesirable and most prejudicial to the interests of the Indians. The functions of the Secretary of State for India and his powers and rights ought to be similar to those of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. At any rate, in case of difference of opinion between the Secretary of State for India and the Indian Government, the matter should be referred to three members of His Majesty's Privy Council, and the opinion of their Lordships

or of the majority of their Lordships, in the event of a difference of opinion, should be the final decision of the matter.

The Government of India must possess fiscal autonomy and must in that respect be free from the control of the Secretary of State, and must have the privilege and right of revising customs duties and Indian tariffs and of removing, reducing or imposing any tax or cess.

Should the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India be not acceptable to the authorities and the Council be continued to exist, then certainly it ought to be reformed. The number of members ought to be raised to 15 (fifteen) as it stood originally, and amongst the Councillors there ought to be two Ex-Viceroys, four ex-judges of the Chartered High Courts, four elected by the non-official members of the Provincial Legislative Councils, two merchants elected by the Bengal and Bombay Chambers of Commerce, one from the Education Department, one from the Medical Department, and one from the Military Service.

The status of the Councillors should be raised, and they should be treated as colleagues of the Secretary of State for India, particularly in the administration, and responsible with him for any new departure in the policy of administration.

The whole expense for the maintenance of the India Office, and the salary of the Secretary of State for India, should be on the British Budget, India being absolved from any payment on that head.

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Mr. A. P. Smith.

(*Editor*, "*The Anglo-Indian.*")

The united voice of Anglo-India must swell the appeal of Indians for self-government. Whether complete autonomy will be given on Colonial lines is another question. Anglo-Indians must seek representation in the Councils of the Empire, they must seek the friendship and earn the goodwill of Indians—to whom they are bound by blood and birth and domicile—and whom they have up to the present time repudiated. As a small, separate, but by no means negligible, community, it is necessary for Anglo-Indians to participate in any scheme of reconstruction of the Indian administration after the War. They must cultivate closer relations with Indian public men, learn to love this great country, cultivate sympathetic relations with the Indian people, and work and strive to make India one of the greatest, if not the greatest, possession in the Empire. The possibilities in this direction are incalculable. No country can be really happy unless she is self-governed. India under self-government may make mistakes, may be involved in troubles, but she will emerge purified, stronger and more able to stand on her own feet. Held up by the nurse and never allowed the freedom to walk alone, the Indian people will ever remain weaklings. The careful mother is anxious that her toddling child should not walk over a precipice, but she does not attempt to hinder free movement to gain strength and confidence and full activity.

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Rao Sahib D. Laxmi Narayan.

(*Kamptee, Central Provinces.*)

Executive power shall vest in the Governor and a Council of four Members, who should be wholly elected by the non-official Indian members of the Legislative Council. The Governor and the Executive Council will be responsible and subject to the control, or in subordination to the Legislative Council.

The electorates of the Provincial and All-India Legislatures shall be so arranged as to represent adequately the whole people. Each District in the Province should elect seven members to the Provincial Council representing (1) Municipalities. (2) District and Local Boards. (3) Landholding of all description. (4) Income and property. (5) Education. (6) Commerce and industry. (7) Labour. There shall be no nominated non-official Indian members, but all non-officials shall be elected.

The Government of India must possess fiscal autonomy or freedom, *i.e.*, it must enjoy the right of revising Indian tariffs and customs duties, imposing or reducing or removing any tax or cess at its own initiation and pleasure, modifyng the existing system of currency, banking and mints and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries in the country. There should be no divided heads of revenue between the Central and Provincial Governments. The Central Government may make grants from surplus revenues to Provincial Governments.

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Mr. G. S. Arundale.

(*Organising Secretary, Home Rule League.*)

The Memorandum lays stress on the two most cogent arguments in favour of Home Rule—first, the fact that the present system of Government is vitiated by a want of trust in the people on the part of the rulers, partly shown in the grudging nature of every reform granted, partly in depriving Indians in their own country of rights accorded to foreigners; second, the fact that no Government is a true Government save as it is for the people and responsible to the people.

One word of criticism. I find no mention anywhere in the Memorandum of Education; and I regard this omission as most serious. Education must be handed over to the care of Indians, Europeans being only in subordinate positions, if they are needed at all. It is strange that the training of India's children should practically be in the hands of a small group of European Directors of Public Instruction. Sir Sankaran Nair is doubtless the Education Member, but there is exceedingly little he can do against a rigid system and against the mischievous doctrine of prestige. I regret exceedingly that no mention is made of Education in the Memorandum, for whatever the reform may be granted us, the real reform, the real sign of Britain's eagerness to do justice to India, will consist in India's children being trained by Indians in Indian ideals and in the Indian spirit.

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Hon. Rai Bahadur Ram Saran Das, C.I.E.

(*Member, The Punjab Legislative Council.*)

The scheme does not advocate any radical change. It only seeks extended applications of the principles already approved by the Government, and the utility of which has been recognised after years of experiment. The Government themselves, in 1909, very graciously introduced an Indian element in our Executive Councils. This experiment has, in the opinion of successive Viceroys, proved successful. The scheme of Reforms only seeks to increase further this Indian element. Again, in the Bengal Legislative Council, the Government has already provided for an elected majority. The scheme seeks to extend this principle to all Legislative Councils in India. The present enlarged Councils have, it is admitted, proved useful to the Government. If the experimental measure of a little enlarged Councils have proved successful, it is highly desirable that these Councils should be further enlarged, so that the representation of all classes of people be secured sufficiently to assist Government in the work of administration. The Government have themselves advocated the grant of autonomous powers to Local Governments, and they have planned schemes of decentralisation.

The Hon. Khan Bahadur Syed Ali Nabi.

(*Member, U. P. Legislative Council.*)

I agree with the proposals of the Joint-Committee of Hindus and Muhammadans, as made out in the matter of "Post-War Reforms."

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Dr. G. B. Clark.

(*Late M. P. for Caithness.*)

When the war is over, (writes Dr. Clark in the *Forward*,) there will be many problems of the greatest importance affecting the whole structure of the British Empire, which both Parliament and the people of the United Kingdom will need to consider. Among them is the question of the future administration of India.

The present system of Government is like that of Russia, a bureaucratic one. It is a Government of officials responsible only to themselves, though unlike that of Russia, it is honest and efficient, and there is no corruption. Of the fourteen hundred bureaucrats who govern India, less than one hundred are Indians, and, consequently, it is practically a Government of foreigners alien in race and language. Like the Tsar, the Viceroy has despotic powers, tempered a little by the influence of the Secretary of State for India in London. He may use those powers in the interests of the people, but very often, he only begins to understand their requirements when his term of office expires. From the time he arrives, until he departs, he rarely comes in touch with the people. He is in the hands of the officials, and dependent upon them for his information about the condition of the country. There was a period in the history of India when a benevolent despotism was the form of Government best suited to it but, in consequence of the influence of Western civilisation, that time has now passed away. Progress and evolution operate upon States as well as upon individuals, and old

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and time-worn institutions have to give way to newer and more modern methods.

The India of to-day must get rid of the old exclusive methods of legislation and administration and adopt a more liberal and democratic one in the future. An attempt in this direction was made by the Indian Councils Act of 1909. Speaking during the Debate on the Second Reading of the Bill, Mr. Asquith said in reply to a critic: "It is most desirable, in the circumstances, to give the people of India the feeling that these Legislative Councils are not mere automatons the wires of which are pulled by the official hierarchy;" and, doubtless, that was the intention of the Liberal Cabinet. But the working of the Act has shown that the object of its promoters has not been attained, and that illustration has been afforded of another measure "that keeps the word of promise to the ear but breaks it to the hope."

. . . . . .

The case (the Memorandum of the Nineteen) is stated with great moderation, clearness and ability. . . . . .

It is not the work of amateurs, but the well-considered proposals of men who, for their knowledge and ability, have been elected to the highest office in India, and who represent the educated and progressive class of every race and faith in that vast territory. The present bureaucratic system is now an anachronism and can no longer be maintained. All the unnecessary and absurd disabilities must be removed and a large measure of self-government conferred upon the Indian people.

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The Colonial Secretary can always consult the High Commissioners for the Dominions, and the Agents-General of the Colonies, on any questions affecting them, but there are no analogous officials representing the presidencies and the provinces of India. It would be better to reform the Council rather than abolish it. Instead of limiting its membership to old Civil Servants who have had long service in India, and some of whom are completely out of touch with the India of to-day, it might be composed of three members of this class, three Indians appointed by the elected Councillors in India, and three men of affairs from this country, not necessarily connected with India. Such a Council might be of great use to the Secretary of State when new and important questions have to be considered.

. . . . . .

Discussing the various disabilities and disqualifications which are imposed on the people of India, Dr. Clark writes strongly on the subject of the Arms Act and the exclusion of Indians from Commissions in the Army.

This position of racial inferiority is very humiliating to the Indian people and especially to the intelligent class who come to this country for their education, take degrees at our universities, are called to our Bar, and enter various professions. Unless Acts of Parliament and Royal pledges are to be treated as "scraps of paper," equality between Indians and Europeans must be established as it was by law and proclamation intended.

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As regards the hopes held out to India Dr. Clark reminds Lord Sydenham and other reactionaries with a convenient memory, that Mr. Asquith, as Prime Minister, on several occasions, recognised the part played by Indians in the War, and spoke of the Indian people "as joint and equal custodians of one common interest and future," and that both he and other responsible statesmen have hinted by no means obscurely, that in the future the Government of India will be more representative of the people and more under their control. *Reprint from "India."*

The Hon. Mr. N. K. Kelkar.

(*Member, Legislative Council, Central Provinces.*)

Now the "essentials" of the scheme, as they appear to me, are these. Indians of status, position and education, whether they are Hindus or Mahomedans or Indian Christians, they are no longer in a spirit of absolute trust, content either with the present method of initiating policies or the composition of the personnel which administers the affairs of the country. They want to have a hand both in the shaping of policy and the carrying out of the administration from day to day; and they want to be associated with the administration, not in the subordinate capacity, in which sence it is sometimes claimed that the administration is already largely in Indian's hands in almost every department, but in being given opportunities to shoulder its burdens and responsibilities in the same manner in which all higher officers of Government are called upon to do so. *Presidential address at the Yeotmal Conference.*

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The Hon. Dr. H. S. Gour, M.A., LL.D., D.C.L.

(*Member, Legislative Council, C. P.*)

I have carefully perused the Memorandum presented by the 19 Members of the Imperial Legislative Council to His Excellency the Viceroy for transmission to the Secretary of State, and while I am in general agreement with their tenour, I do not think that the purpose the Memorialists have in view will be fully achieved without the direct representation of India in the Imperial Parliament. Judging from the guarded expressions occurring in the public pronouncements of responsible statesmen, the representation of the Colonies in the Imperial Parliament appears to be a favoured proposal emanating not only from the Colonies, but also from the responsible British Ministers anxious to draw the Colonies closer to the Mother-Country. If, therefore, the question of Colonial representation in the British Parliament is a foregone conclusion, it is a question whether India should not also press for her representation there as well. It seems to me that if the Colonies are represented in the Imperial Parliament and India left out without representation there, her position, as a mere Dependency, would be aggravated rather than alleviated by her enlarged Councils. And it would be galling to the sense of self-respect to the people of this country since the Colonists have, by their past and present attitude and behaviour towards the Indian settlers and emigrants, shown such an unconquerable prejudice against, and implacable hostility that the Imperial Government might well be taken to have thrown up

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its hands in despair for its failure to find a satisfactory solution of the problem. This is the attitude of the people who have at present no voice in the governance of this country. But what would be their attitude and power for harm if they are represented, and India is not, in the Council of the Empire? The question of Indian representation in the British Parliament is no doubt a difficult question and one involving a radical alteration of the English Constitution. But so is the question of Colonial representation. India does not desire nor ask for any exceptional or preferential treatment in this respect; what it desires is that her position in the Empire should not be worsened by her exclusion and the inclusion of Colonies in the Imperial Parliament. India desires to be elevated to the rank and prestige of a British Colony, and treated as such. That she is well-justified in asking for this treatment is, in the opinion of many competent thinkers, not a visionary ambition, but a bare justice to the education and enlightenment she has received, and the improvement she has made since the establishment of the British Government.

The Hon'ble Mr. Ramani Mohan Das.

(*Member, Legislative Council, Assam.*)

What we have to say on this in brief is that the India of to-day, having rendered such valuable services both in men and money during this calamitous war in Europe, reasonably deserves a recognition of all these and that in the shape of a raised status in the British Empire like her sister Colonies.

Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C. I. E.

(*Late Dewan of Travancore, Mysore and Baroda.*)

The fortunes of India are inextricably bound up with those of England, and, whatever the shortcomings of England may be, it is only through her that India can hope to become a self-governing nation. Anything, therefere, that may weaken England's power cannot but tell on the well-being and prosperity of India. It is, on the other hand, to England's own interest as an Imperial Power to do everything to strengthen India's position so that she may become a self-supporting and self-reliant nation within the Empire.

I think England fully realises that the time has arrived for giving India self-government, but her difficulty appears to be whether India can safely be raised to the position of a self-governing country. The case of the Colonies is simple. They are kindred nations who are offshoots of the parent stock and the question with them is one of bringing them into closer union with the central Government and has practically been solved. But the case with India is different. Her populations belong to an alien race and a different civilisation. And the British nation, who, in the ultimate resort are the arbiters of the destinies of the Indian people, have not troubled themselves to understand Indian problems and have left the government of the country in the hands of her experts. Some catastrophe like the Mutiny and, in a milder form, the Indian unrest of 1905, rouses her attention and on these occasions, through her national assembly, the Houses of

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Parliament. Some action is taken to redress India's grievances and improve her Government. In the present World-War, however, England appears to have been much impressed by the spectacle of a whole nation, from prince to peasent, rallying to her side and placing their resources and services unreservedly at her disposal. In the exuberance of her feelings of gratitude India was assured of her title to self-rule being recognised and to her being lifted from a position of dependency to that of partnership in the Imperial scheme. The enthusiasm, however, would appear to have cooled down somewhat latterly and the visit to India of the Editor of the *Round Table* and the *Commonwealth of Nations* is not calculated to inspire confidence in the minds of the people of India as to much being done to change the character of her rule. He is supposed to represent the Lord Milner-school of thought, which, in regard to the so-called subject-races, has greater faith in the efficacy of strong, and according to their lights, good government than self-government. The Government will still be bureaucratic in spirit although there may be an increase in the representative element in it and in the appointments in Government service open to the sons of the soil. But this will not meet the present requirements of India. What India needs, and is ripe for, is Government of the people, by the people and the full recognition of the principle that there should be " no taxation without representation."

This is a matter of no mere sentiment or aspiration, due to borrowing fine phrases from the

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politics of the West without understanding their meaning. It is a positive necessity for the well-being of India and for the integrity of the Empire. There is no question that the bureaucracy has outlived its usefulness, and while unwilling to part with power, is unable to adapt itself to the changed conditions in India. The India of to-day is not the India of five years ago and since the war, the change is working even more rapidly than in the previous three years. The retired Governors and officials who generally shape opinion at Home on Indian questions are woefully behind the times and shout shibboleths like "vakil raj," "babu politicians," "Martial races," "unwarlike communities," "ignorant masses" and "self-seeking educated classes," which have long since been exploded. India has passed the stage of being governed on the old lines by highly trained Englishmen sent out to administer the country. So long as government was confined to policing the country, dispensing justice, collecting taxes, and promoting to a large extent the material and moral welfare of the people, it was simple enough, and no agency could have done it better than the Civil Service, which has earned the gratitude of the people and the admiration of the whole world. But if India is to become a self-supporting and self-reliant nation, something more is wanted than these elements of good government. The British Government, however sympathetic and however well-intentioned it may be, cannot, from the nature of the case, undertake this task with any chance of success. The work will have

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to be taken up by indigenous agency, by statesmen and philosphers like Stein, Fichte and others in Germany in the beginning of the last century, or the patriots who piloted the passage of Japan from the old order into the new. The only measure of economic and social reconstruction introduced by the British Government is the co-operative credit system in Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. Beyond this, the Government have not done much to strengthen the economic position of the people or train them in habits of self-help and self-reliance.

. . . . . .

It is the fashion to attribute the spontaneous rally of India to the side of England, when war was declared, to the good Government which had conciliated and secured the loyalty and devotion of the masses to the British nation. This is at best a half truth and I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that this was due mainly to the influence of the much maligned and much misunderstood intellectuals of India who alone were in a position to judge the good work England had done and what it would mean to India if Germany won in the present war. It is the educated classes that gave the lead. Of course, it is well-known that a great deal of this unhesitating action is due to the emphatic and courageous way in which Lord Hardinge had indentified himself with the national cause. I will not here attempt to show how untenable is the position, so often assumed, that the civilians are the protectors of the masses and the Indian publicists are fighting for their own aggrandisement.

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Masses and classes are, however, ideas and phrases borrowed from the West and are utterly inapplicable to the conditions in India.

How the English rulers in India have not outgrown the ideas of Government which may have answered in the earlier years of British rule but are quite inapplicable to modern conditions may be gathered from the attitude of the spokesmen of the Indian Government in the discussions in connection with the Consolidation Acts and from the Despatch sent by the Government of India on the proposals of the Decentralisation Commission to bring schemes for revision settlements before the Legislative Councils if it were a national Government, even of the Russian type, it will be quick to respond to stimuli from without. The exigencies of self-preservation and strengthening her power of resistance has led the Russian Government to adopt compulsory education and give a voice to the representatives of the people in the Duma in deciding the policies of the State, even as the war was going on. All this will point to the necessity of increasing the representative character of Indian rule and consulting the people more generally and trusting them to a larger extent than has been the case hitherto.

The heart of India is sound at the core and Congresses and Leagues and leaders like Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant require, at this crisis in India's fortunes, more freedom of speech and publicity for their utterances rather than discouragement, or repression. The people have to be educated on the one hand and on the other

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opinion has to be focussed on what measures should be adopted for giving India self-government within the Empire. I can, in the light of the recent speech of Lord Carmichael, understand how difficult must be the position of rulers when confronted with what they believe to be a widespread conspiracy to subvert British rule; but even in regard to such a state of things I would venture to suggest that the best course to adopt is to summon the well-disposed sections of the community to his aid and take counsel with them. However this may be, in regard to the reorganization of the Government of India, the proposals should not have gone to England without being subjected to discussion in India, both in the different Legislative Councils and in the Press. It is discussion alone that will enable Government to decide what constitution is best for each Province and for the Federal Government. The way in which the proposals have been sent to England, without even the Imperial Legislative Council being consulted, shows that the old bureaucratic spirit still rules in India.—*Contributed to the "Madras Mail."*

The Hon. Mr. K. S. Bhat.

(Member, Madras Legislative Council.)

In fact, a large number of the Indian educated community want to go much further and the Memorandum represents the irreducible minimum that should be accepted as the basis of reform after the War.

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The Raja Vasudeva Raja, C.I.E.

(Raja of Kollengode.)

While I agree to a substantial enlargement of the Legislative Councils, as suggested in the Memorandum submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy, by the nineteen elected members of the Imperial Council, I am by no means convinced that a mere enlargement, however safeguarded, will assure adequate protection to all the varied interests of the country. If the Legislative Councils are to be invested with such vast powers as to give them practically complete control over the internal administration, the question has necessarily to be considered whether a single chamber system of legislature will be safe. I am speaking solely in the interests of the large landed classes. There are, no doubt, other important interests that would need protection. Democracies all the world over have shown a special tendency to tax property out of existence. It is always easy to propose and carry out measures of public utility if only the required money would come out of other peoples' pockets. In the present backward condition of industries and commerce in this country, the tendency to finance popular projects and industrial experiments by adding to the burden of taxation on land is all the greater. Under these circumstances, the desirability of constituting a second chamber of legislature consisting of representatives of the landholders and similar proprietory classes cannot be too strongly emphasised. The double

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chamber system prevails not only in England, but in all British Colonies and all countries which have adopted the British model. It is, perhaps, significant that while Indian politicians have persistently demanded self-government on Colonial lines, they have not cared to urge the claims of the proprietory classes to have an upper chamber or Senate like those existing in the Colonies. Is it imagined that India alone can work representative institutions without the safeguard provided by a second chamber ?

There is much to be said in favour of the proposal that half the number of members of the Executive Council should be Indians. I would add that at least one of the Indian members should always be a representative of the landholders.

Mr. Hiranand Khemsing.

It will take too long to detail here the reforms which are needed and which must be installed after the War without loss of time. These have been enumerated in the memorandum drawn up by the non-official members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council and have received the seal of approval from the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. I have been induced to make a mention of them because Sindh swims or sinks with the rest of India, and I wish only to add that the people of Sindh heartily join the people of the other provinces in urging upon the British Government the necessity and desirability of installing a substantial measure of Self-Government in the country.—*Presidential Address, Sindh Provincial Conference.*

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Mr. R. P. Karandikar.

(*Pleader, Satara.*)

I am sure the reforms urged by the 19 Members of His Excellency the Viceroy's Legislative Council are all well conceived and workable. Control over the purse is and must be the predominant idea. No taxation without representation is the cardinal rule, and fiscal autonomy the *sine qua non* in every item of reform. The reform of the Executive and its subjection to the Legislative Councils being granted, other reforms urged, for instance, in (10) and (11) will naturally follow. But in the larger schemes, such as (7) and (12) and (13) federation and army, full support of the Greater Britain is absolutely necessary.

Mr. Parmeshwar Lall, Bar.-at-Law.

That our people need reforms in the system that governs them is absolutely true. That they desire it is also certain. That they will make efforts to get reforms and even Home Rule may also be conceded. But whether with all this they will succeed in getting the reforms they need is the question. The Bureaucracy has done its work now —it only retards the further progress of the people of this country. But the Bureaucracy has got the ear of the English people. The tale they can tell is pleasing to the English ear—it flatters English vanity. Our tale must, in the necessity of the case, be unpleasant. It is bound to lesson English self-esteem. Can it succeed? . . . . .

"By themselves are nations made," wrote Hume. This is as true now as it was in the early eighties of the last century.

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The Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

(*Editor*, "*The Leader*," *Allahabad.*)

We must insist upon being in our own country what other people are in their countries. The coming readjustment of inter-Imperial relations makes Self-Government for India urgent, our National self-respect demands it, the condition of the country requires it, the British connection with India will be strengthened and confirmed by it. It is the justest and most rational of claims. . . . . Let it be noted, it is no part of our proposals that all at once all offices or nearly all offices now filled by Englishmen should be transferred to our countrymen. We contemplate no injustice to any one. The system will be altered, but the change of *personnel* will be gradual. We do not urge the abolition of existing institutions; we only seek to reform their constitution so that they may be really and fully representative of the popular will, and to increase their powers so that they may exercise effective control over the administrative and financial acts of the executive authorities, among whom there is to be an adequate representation of the permanent inhabitants of the country. *Presidential Address U. P. Conference held at Jhansi.*

The Hon. Mr. B. Venkatapati Raju.

(*Member, Madras Legislative Council.*)

The reforms, which are not the stepping-stones to lead to the pedestal of Self-Government within the British Empire, will not satisfy the real needs or rightful aspirations of the Indian people. . . . Unless and until this is done, the self-respecting Indian people will not be content or happy.

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PART II

CONGRESS AND MOSLEM LEAGUE'S SCHEME

[*The following is the scheme of Reforms as a definite step towards Self-Government passed at the 31st Session of the Indian National Congress held at Lucknow, on the 29th December 1916, and also adopted by the All-India Moslem League at its meeting held on the 31st December 1916* :—]

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.

2. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the Major Provinces, and from 50 to 75 in the Minor Provinces.

3. The members of Councils should be elected directly by people on as broad a franchise as possible.

4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and that the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils.

Punjab—One-half of the elected Indian Members.		
United Provinces—30 per cent.	,,	,,
Bengal—40 per cent.	,,	,,
Behar—25 per cent.	,,	,,
Central Provinces—15 per cent.	,,	,,
Madras—15 per cent.	,,	,,
Bombay—One-third	,,	,,

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Provided that Mahomedans shall not participate in any of the other elections to the Legislative Councils.

Provided further that no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the bill or any clause thereof or the resolution.

5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. (*a*) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be provincial.

(*b*) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

(*c*) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the

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internal administration of the province, including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation, and to vote on the Budget. All items of expenditure, and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue should be embodied in Bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.

(*d*) Resolutions on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself.

(*e*) A resolution passed by the Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor in Council, provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(*f*) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

8. Any special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

9. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with the rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

10. All Bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law, but may be vetoed by the Governor-General.

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11. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

II.—PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.

2. There shall be in every Province an Executive Council which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.

3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.

4. Not less than one-half of the members of Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

5. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

III.—IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150.

2. Four-fifths of the members shall be elected.

3. The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the lines of the Mahomedan electorates and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of Members to the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.

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5. The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

6. Any special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

7. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor.

8. All Bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor-General before they become law.

9. All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in Bills. Every such Bill and the Budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

10. The term of office of members shall be five years.

11. The matters mentioned hereinbelow shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council:—

(*a*) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.

(*b*) Provincial legislation in so far as it may affect inter-provincial fiscal relations.

(*c*) Questions affecting purely Imperial Revenue, excepting tributes from Indian States.

(*d*) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure, except that no resolution of the Imperial

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Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General in Council in respect of Military charges for the defence of the country.

(*e*) The right of revising Indian tariffs and customs-duties, of imposing, altering, or removing any tax or cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.

(*f*) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

12. A Resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-General in Council: provided, however, that if the Resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

13. A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

14. The Crown may exercise its power of veto in regard to a Bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council within twelve months from the date on which it is passed, and the Bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.

15. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign political relations of India, including the

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declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

IV.—THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

1. The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.

2. He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.

3. The Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

5. The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India as constituted under this scheme, and subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council.

6. The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a province, and powers not specifically given to a Provincial Government shall be deemed to be vested in the former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.

7. In legislative and administrative matters, the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, shall, as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.

8. A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted.

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V.—THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN COUNCIL.

1. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.

2. The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates.

3. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India as the Secretary of State for the Colonies in relation to the Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions.

4. The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two Permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

VI.—MILITARY AND OTHER MATTERS OF POLICY.

1. The military and naval services of His Majesty, both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India.

2. Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers.

3. Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.

4. The Executive Officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them and the judiciary in every Province shall be placed under the highest Court of that Province.

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SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

The Hon. Pandit Jagat Narain.

In my opinion, statesmanship demands that Great Britain should announce to the people of this country that a Self-Governing India is the goal of her policy and grant us a substantial instalment of reform after the war, as a step towards that goal. Representative Government should be made a reality by the fullest control over civil affairs being given to the elected representatives of the people whose decisions should be binding on the Executive. Indians should no longer be debarred from an honourable participation in the defence of their hearths and homes, but should be given every opportunity for developing their martial spirit. The slow deterioration which is taking place in the manhood of the race is one of the saddest results of British rule in India, and steps should be taken to repair the injury as early as possible. It is also essential that in any scheme of Imperial Federation, India should occupy the same position as the Self-Governing Dominions. The Memorandum submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy, by our elected representatives, although not a complete statement of our demands, proceeds on these lines and the same principles underlie the scheme of reform which has been prepared jointly by the All-India Congress Committee and the Muslim League Reform Committee. . . . . .

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. . . . . But these reforms, which fall far short of Colonial Self-Government, cannot satisfy India for all time to come and in any legislation undertaken to give effect to them; it should be provided that full responsible government shall be conferred on her within a generation.—*From the Welcome Address to the Lucknow Congress, 1916.*

The Hon. Mr. A. C. Muzumdar

Call it Home Rule, call it Self-Rule, call it *Swaraj*, call it Self-Government, it is all one and the same thing—it is Representative Government. The idea is not a new one, nor is it the revelation of any evangelist. As far as I am aware, the idea dawned upon the people in 1882, when the agitation on the Ilbert Bill first revealed to the people the helpessness of their situation. A *National League* was then formed and a burning pamphlet called the *Star in the East* was issued, which was written in a style and language which, if employed at the present day, would have surely stranded the writer in serious difficulties. Lord Ripon fully anticipated the demand when, in his famous Resolution of January 1882, he told the people that "local self-government must precede national self-government." Although the first Indian National Congress passed no resolution directly bearing on the question, the notification under which it was called into existence clearly stated that one of the objects of the future assembly was "indirectly to form the germ of an Indian Parliament which, if properly conducted, will

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constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institution." And Mrs. Annie Besant in her admirable book, *How India Wrought for Freedom*, has pointedly referred to the utterance of the Grand Old Man of India, which clearly foreshadowed the coming demand of the Indian people for Self-Government. Ever since then the idea worked and matured itself when, in the brilliant session of the Congress in 1906, it found an emphatic and unequivocal pronouncement from the very same patriarch of the Indian political world in his trumpet-call for *Swaraj*, which has since then stirred the Indian mind to its utmost depth to find the true remedy which it had so far sought in vain. A generation has passed away, but a generation has risen whose sole and whole-hearted demand is nothing short of Self-Government as the sovereign remedy for the present unsatisfactory situation. A cry has, however, been raised that we are not yet fit for Self-Government. * * *

Gentlemen, we are roundly charged with revelling in "extravagant hopes" and indulging in "unrealisable demands." But we have long refused to profit by the very friendly and eminently practical suggestions of those whose only claim to be regarded as the *Statesman* or the *Englishman* consists in the proud names which they have, like the "bogus medical degrees," assumed for themselves. We do not judge the great British nation by specimens of this kind who do no honour to the English name. . . .

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Let us recall to-day only a few of the many assurances that have been given to India by some of the responsible ministers and men who are now guiding the destinies of the Empire.

The *Times*, the leading organ of conservative opinion in England, has been struck with the unexpected demonstration in India and frankly admitted that the Indian problem must be henceforth looked at from a different point of view. "On our part," says the great journal, "when we have settled account with the enemy, India must be allowed a more ample place in the councils of the Empire." Both Mr. Montague and Mr. Roberts, as Under-Secretary for India, have from time to time expressed themselves in no uncertain voice as to the correct lines upon which the Indian administration requires to be revised and modified. Mr. Montague's honest interpretation of Lord Hardinge's Despatch of August 1911, is well-known, while Mr. Roberts speaking from his place in the House of Commons has frankly acknowledged that with the intellectual classes in India this outburst of loyalty is a "reasoned sentiment based upon considerations of enlightened self-interest," and has at the same time asked the British public to alter "the angle of vision" in their perspective of the Indian problem. Following the *Times*, the *Review of Reviews* has, in one of its latest numbers, fairly admitted that "India to-day occupies a higher place in the Empire than ever before and has materially advanced her claims towards Self-Government, and it is inevitable that, after the war, her outstanding demands should receive the most sympathetic considerations."

We have, the *Review* adds, made promises of Self-Government to Egypt, and it is inconceivable that we should deny the same privileges to India. At present India is not pressing her claim but patiently awaits her just due not as a reward but as a right which her conduct has shown her worthy of possessing.

Lord Haldane, who till recently occupied a commanding position in the Cabinet, said :—

The Indian soldiers were fighting for the liberties of humanity as much as we ourselves. India had given her lives and treasures in humanity's great cause, hence things could not be left as they were. We had been thrown together in the mighty struggle and had been made to realise our oneness, so producing relations between India and England which did not exist before. Our victory would be victory for the Empire as a whole and could not fail to raise it to a higher level.

Then at a recent meeting held at Guildhall, at the instance of the Lord Mayor, Mr. Asquith, the Premier, and Mr. Bonar Law, the erstwhile leader of the Opposition, and both now united in coalition ministry, have given a pointed pledge for the readjustment of India's position in the councils of the Empire after the war is over. But to quote the words of Mr. Bonar Law, why the thing should not be done "while the metal was still glowing red-hot from the furnace of the war" and the promised rewards of India's comradeship and co-operation should be all relegated to the indefinite future and not one of them even shadowed forth in the present programme of the Imperial Government, seems to be inexplicable. Quite recently, Lord Chelmsford is reported to have said that "the war, by giving India an opportunity to show its practical importance to the Empire, had stirred Indian aspirations for

developments politically and economically. It would be his endeavour to secure a practical response to this new desire for progress." His Lordship is said to have added :—" My task is to guard India from cramping influences of undue conservatism equally with unpractical revolutionary tendencies."

Now, are these men of less authority, foresight and responsibility than the members of the Indian bureaucracy or its exponents in the Anglo-Indian Press who are ever so loud and positive in denouncing our claims? Or, are these assurances all a hoax intended to delude the Indian mind? We positively refuse to accept any such view which would be a gross calumny on the great British nation. We have much greater confidence in British statesmanship which may have blundered in many places but has failed nowhere. Gentlemen, we indulge in no gloomy anticipations; but we shudder to contemplate the serious effect which the non-fulfilment of these pledges is likely to produce in the minds of the Indian public. . .

As loyal subjects of His Majesty, we, of the Congress, deem it our duty to tell all whom it may concern not to treat the Indian problem after the war as lightly as some irresponsible and mischievous critics are evidently disposed to do. Already a subdued note of the scrap of paper has been raised in certain quarters. The Charter Act of 1833, the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 and the two gracious messages of King Edward VII and George V still remain unredeemed, and it would be no wise statesmanship to add to the burden of unredeemed pledges. England has been drawn

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into the vortex of a titanic struggle for the deliverance of Belgium and Servia. God grant, she may come out with her brave Allies completely triumphant in her heroic efforts. She has, however, a much greater stake in India, and India has a much greater claim to her consideration. Let us hope she will not fail to be at least as just as she is generous.

After the war is over, a complete readjustment of the Empire will have to be made; all its component parts will have to be co-ordinated and harmonised with one another and with the parent state. India alone cannot be left out of this programme. She must be admitted into common and equal partnership with colonies on terms of equal rights and obligations of the Empire, enjoying equal laws and equal rights of British citizenship throughout that Empire. The collar of a Dependency should be removed from her neck and the coronet of an autonomous Self-Governing State placed upon her head. What a glorious federation it would then be, more glorious than that of the Roman Empire or of any that the world has yet seen.—*From the Lucknow Congress Presidential Address, 1916.*

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The Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah

Is India fit for freedom ? We, who are present here to-day, know full well that from the Indian standpoint there can be but one answer. Our critics would probably challenge our conviction. Our only reply to them would be to go forward and put the matter to the proof. After all, what is the test of fitness ? If we turn to history, we find that in the past, only such people have been declared to have been fit for freedom who fought for it and attained it. We are living in different times. Peace has its victories. We are fighting and can only fight constitutional battles. This peaceful struggle is not and will not be wanting in the quality of vigour and sacrifice, and we are determined to convince the British Empire that we are fit for the place of a partner within the Empire, and nothing less will satisfy India. . .

The first and the foremost question that requires to be put at rest is, that the position of India in the Empire should be defined in the most unequivocal terms. It should be made clear by the Government in an authoritative manner that Self-Government is not a mere distant goal that may be attained at some future indefinite time, but that Self-Government for India is the definite aim and object of the Government to be given to the people within a reasonable time. That should be the aim and object of the reconstruction and reformation of the present constitution of the Government of India, and immediate steps should be taken after the War to introduce

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the reforms towards that end in view both by the Government and the people.

Reading the signs of the time it appears that the claims of the Overseas Dominions, such as Canada, Australia, and even South Africa, *viz.*, to allow them a voice in the declaration of war and the making of peace and the Imperial Foreign policy if they are to bear the responsibilities of the Empire cannot well be resisted and it might follow that an Imperial Parliament may be constructed and established. England, Scotland and Ireland have their separate Parliaments for the purpose of managing their internal and domestic affairs such as the Dominions already have. Sir Joseph Ward, addressing the meeting of the Insurance Institute at Gresham College only last month, said that:—

In the future reconstruction of the Empire, there could not be any interference with local authority and though an Imperial Parliament was a long way off, they might now work for some effective Imperial Council and that before an organic Parliament was possible, there must be devolution in Britain to pave the way for a federal legislature overseas. The Dominions had no right even to a minority voice as to whether the nation should go to war or what the peace terms should be.

He quoted Mr. Asquith's speech at the 1911 Imperial Conference, in which the Prime Minister stated that "an Imperial Parliament scheme would impair the authority of the British Parliament." Sir Joseph added:

Since then, there had been a great evolution of opinion on the subject. Mr. Bonar Law had declared as a result of the war the time was coming when the Overseas Dominions would share in the Government of the Empire

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with Britain. He hoped that before the war ended, some *modus vivendi* would be established.

In the political reconstruction, India, the largest part of the Empire, cannot possibly be allowed to continue a dependency as an adjunct to England, Scotland or Ireland, or to be ruled and governed by the Dominions. Hitherto the responsibility, the control and the supervision of India has been vested in Great Britain. The question naturally arises, what will be the position of India if an Imperial Parliament with full representation of the Dominions is constituted? Is India to have new and additional masters? Is India to be ruled jointly by England, Scotland, Ireland and the Dominions? Are we to be handed over to this Imperial Parliament and to be thus ruled and to be governed by the Colonies? Are we not to have a status or *locus standi* in this Imperial Parliament? I feel sure that I am expressing the opinion of the entire educated people of this country that India will never allow herself to be relegated to such an intolerable position. Indeed, she does not want a change of masters nor additional masters. If an Imperial Parliament, such as indicated above, is established, India's right should be recognised and her voice in that Imperial Parliament must be fully and properly secured and represented by her own sons in the Councils of the Empire.—*From the Presidential Address to the Moslem League, 1916.*

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The Hon. Syed Nabi-Ullah

The All-India Moslem League stands to-day for two principal objects, namely, for the safeguarding of the political position of Mussalmans and for co-operation with the other communities for the attainment of Self-Government or Home Rule.

It has given considerable relief to all of us to find that the responsible Hindu leaders in all parts of India realise the Moslem standpoint and are ready to offer all reasonable guarantees for the safety of the Moslem political position. With the settlement of this fundamental question involving the fate of India's future, nothing else should remain in the way of a complete Hindu-Moslem co-operation for the supreme end we both have in view. That end, I need hardly say, is United India, alive to her destiny and recoiling from no toil and sacrifice to rise to the summit of her aspiration, *i.e.*, to the position of a self-governing member of the British Empire. Is there a single Mussalman present here to-day, nay, is there a single Indian in and outside of this hall, born of Indian woman, whose heart fails to warm up and whose pulse does not beat faster as he gives even a moment's thought to that glorious conception? If there is such a miserable wretch in existence, he is a freak and a monstrosity. For such ideal no effort can be spared, no sacrifice can be too great.—*From the Welcome Address to the Moslem League, 1916.*

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The Hon. Babu Surendranath Banerjea*

There is a widespread feeling all over the Empire that after the war, Self-Government should be conceded to India, or that, at any rate, a definite step should be taken towards it. The difference of opinion between Indian

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*The most important Resolution passed by the Congress, at Lucknow, in December 1916, was the one on "Self-Government for India." The terms of the Resolution were:—

(*a*) That having regard to the fact that the great communities of India are the inheritors of ancient civilisations and have shown great capacity for government and administration, and to the progress in education and public spirit made by them during a century of British Rule, and further having regard to the fact that the present system of Government does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and has become unsuited to the existing conditions and requirements, the Congress is of opinion that the time has come when His Majesty the King-Emperor should issue a Proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of the British policy to confer Self-Government on India at an early date.

(*b*) That this Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards Self-Government by granting the reforms contained in the scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League. (For text of the Scheme, please see page 57.)

(*c*) That, in the construction of the Empire, India shall be lifted from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self-Governing Dominions.

The Resolution was proposed by the Hon. Babu Surendranath Banerjea, seconded by Mrs. Besant and supported by Mr. Tilak and several others, whose speeches are herein reproduced.

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Nationalists and our critics is this: We say we should have Self-Government at once or in the immediate future. They say we must pass through purgatory on our way heavenwards. Mr. Lionel Curtis (cries of 'Shame')—never mind—he is a man who has written several books on the subject. He exercises considerable influence over English public opinion. He may or may not be an opponent of Indian aspirations, but let me try to meet him on his own ground. . . . . In his book "The Problem of the Commonwealth," he says, "The task of preparing for freedom the races which cannot as yet govern themselves is the supreme duty of those who can. It is the spiritual end for which the Commonwealth exists, and material order is nothing except a means to it." The preparation of the races living within the British Empire for Self-Government is, according to Mr. Lionel Curtis, a spiritual end for which the Commonwealth exists, and it is the sole justification for British rule in this country. Material order is a means to that end. All administrative measures are subordinated to this spiritual end which overshadows every other aim and purpose. So far so good; we are all in agreement with Mr. Lionel Curtis. But when he comes to the question of Self-Government for India, he cries out, 'Not yet.' That is an old cry. He says, you cannot have Self-Government now. Why not? Because you have not got suitable electorates. To that my reply is, Had you any electorates in the United Kingdom worth the name before the Reform Bill of 1832. (Hear, hear.) Is it not

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notorious that there were those pocket boroughs which were openly bought and sold? And yet no one questioned the competency of the English people for Self-Government. Had Japan electorates suitable or otherwise when the Mikado conferred parliamentary institutions upon that country? Had the Philippinos any electorates, qualified or otherwise, when the American Republic resolved to concede national independence to the people of the Philippines? The growth and development of electorates is part of the growth and development of free institutions. They are inseparable and linked together. They act and react upon each other and strengthen each other by their mutual interaction.

It is said that we are not fit for Self-Government. We are, forsooth, unfit for self-rule. In the morning of the world, when Europe was sunk in barbarism, our ancestors had those village communities which represent the first beginnings of self-government and which survived the vicissitudes of time and fortune. We are not fit for self-government! Go back to the days of the Vedic Rishis. What do you find? The king was an elected monarch—so says Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjea in his book. And even in the Middle Ages the memory of an elected sovereign lingers in the institutions of the land. Analyse the institution of Islam. What do you find? Islamic society and government are saturated with the spirit of democracy; and the Caliph, the spiritual head of the Moslem world, originally owed his authority, his position and dignity to the choice of the Faithful. There is no community in the world in which the spirit

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of equality is more visible and more active than that professing the creed of Islam. And yet we are told, we Hindus and Mussalmans are not fit for Self-Government. When shall we be so fit, may I ask? When will the bureaucracy think that we are? (Laughter). And when will that be? Doomsday. (Renewed laughter). There is yet another authority which may give us Self-Government. What is that? The Parliament of England? But it takes a long time to move Parliament. Sir Henry Fowler said on one occasion that every member of the House of Commons was a member for India; what is everybody's business is nobody's business. We have found that from our painful personal experience, nobody cares for India. England and Englishmen are so deeply concerned in their own affairs, absorbed in their own administration and government that they find it impossible to pay any attention to India. Who then will determine the time when Self-Government is to be conceded to us? You and I. (Hear, hear, and applause.) For nations by themselves are made. (Hear, hear,) Enlist on your behalf all the sympathy you can of Englishmen and Englishwomen and of the civilised world; but bear in mind you and you alone are the final arbiters of the destinies of the Motherland. (Applause.) Cromwell on one occasion made a memorable remark of which I am reminded at the present moment. On the eve of the battle of Naseby, when a severe thunder storm passed over the encampment addressing his troops, he said, "Keep your powder dry and pray." Pray by

all means, but keep your powder dry. Don't lose sight of the material resources which are necessary for success in this world. Spiritual agencies are a mighty factor but the material resources are not to be despised. The salvation of India is to be wrought upon Indian soil by Indian hands, by Indian brains and by Indian agency. (Applause.) Have by all means the sympathies of Englishmen and of the civilised world, but it is you who will determine the great question for yourselves.

Ladies and gentlemen, I don't know whether I have already exhausted your patience. (Cries of 'No, no.') I have a few more remarks to make. Why is it that we want Self-Government? We want Self-Government in the interests of the Empire to which we are so proud to belong. We want Self-Government in the interests of the efficiency of the administration. We want Self-Government for self-protection. And, finally, we want Self-Government for the highest ends of national existence, for the moral and spiritual elevation of our people. I say we want Self-Government in the interests of the Empire. Who knows what will happen 20 years hence? Who knows what strife, what struggle, what difficulties there may be hidden in the womb of the future? Who knows that another war more sanguinary and more devastating than the one which is now desolating Europe may not again break out with all its attendant horrors and cast its shadow upon the fortunes of humanity? Is it not the duty of statesmanship to be forewarned and to be forearmed, to take

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the necessary measures of precaution against a contingency of this kind? Who had ever dreamt forty years back, after the battle of Sedan, that England and Germany would stand and fight with one another? You talk of the man-power of Germany. But look nearer home. We are as multitudinous as the stars of heaven, as countless as the stars of heaven, as countless as the sands of the sea. I say to the rulers of India, Rely upon us, trust us, and Germany will quail before the man-power you hold in reserve in India. (Hear, hear). Marshman says in his history of British India the grandsons of those who fought against Baber became under Akbar the governors of his provinces, the captains of his armies and the ministers of his councils. Let such trust be reposed in us, and England may gaze with serenity the mightiest combination that may be formed against her Imperial sway. Self-Government is the cement of the Empire. It has knit together the Self-Governing Colonies in the bonds of an indissoluble union. It has converted hostile Boers into loyal citizens shedding their blood in suppressing a rebellion of their own countrymen against the Empire, which has conferred on them the inestimable gift of freedom. If Self-Government is conceded to us, the same results will follow in this ancient land.

We want Self-Government for the efficiency of the administration. . . . . Sir Henry Campbell Bannermann has told us that good government is no substitute for self-government. I will go a step further and add that in fairly progressive communities, self-government is the

only guarantee for good government. . . . Good government is no substitute for self-government, but self-government is necessary for good government, and we claim it for the purpose of good government. . . . .

We want Self-Government for the purpose of self-protection. You might ask—what do you mean by self-protection? At the present moment there is visible on the horizon a cloud no bigger than a man's hand, which, I am afraid, unless timely precautions are taken is destined to assume formidable proportions and bursting upon us may overwhelm us. What is that cloud? It is the prospect of a federal council of the Empire from which we are to be excluded and on which there will be colonial representatives. The Self-Governing Colonies are soaked in colour prejudice. From the Federal Council of the Empire, they will determine the policy and the principles of Indian administration. We must put our own house in order and have self-rule before this dire catastrophe overwhelms us.

We want Self-Government finally for the highest ends of national existence, for the moral and spiritual elevation of our people. Political inferiority involves moral degradation. It is galling to our self-respect. The mind and the conscience of a free man are not the mind and conscience of a slave. A nation of slaves could never have produced a Patanjali, a Buddha, or a Valmiki. We want Self-Government in order that we might wipe off from our brows the badge of political inferiority and uplift our heads among the nations of the earth, so that we may

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fulfil the great destinies that are in store for us under the blessing of Divine Providence. We want Self-Government not only in our own interests but for the sake of humanity at large. In the morning of the world, on the banks of the Ganges and on the banks of the Jumna, the Vedic Rishis sang those hymns which represent the first yearnings of infant humanity towards the Divine ideal. In the morning of the world, before the Eternal City had been built on the seven hills, we were the spiritual preceptors of mankind. Kashi was flourishing before Babylon. Our past takes us back to the dim twilight of history. In those days, when the world was sunk in primeval barbarism, we were the guides and instructors of mankind. Has our mission been fulfilled? It has been arrested and will have to be renewed, aye, renewed and fulfilled, so that we may rescue humanity from the gross materialism and the perverse moral culture which has heaped the battlefields of Europe with the hecatombs of the dead. But we must be fully equipped before we can adequately discharge this high and exalted function. Self-Government is the indispensable equipment. These are the ideals, the hopes and the aspirations which inspire us in the demand for Self-Government. Our work is not political: it is moral, it is religious. We are therefore irresistible and invincible.

To-day is a red letter day in our history. To-day Hindus and Mahomedans and all ranks of the National party are united on this platform inspired by a common resolve and a common purpose. May the memory of this day be embalmed in the

recollections of posterity by the inauguration of a new campaign for the attainment of Self-Government. It is no use our holding a session for three days and then going to sleep for the rest of the year. We must resolve in our hearts and take a vow, such as we did in connection with the Swadeshi movement and enter into a solemn league and covenant before God and man, that we shall not rest from these labours until we have secured for ourselves the great and inestimable blessing of Self-Government. (Hear, hear, and applause).

Mrs. Annie Besant

You have just heard the scheme of reforms which has been passed by the All-India Congress Committee in Conference with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League. Those reforms are alluded to in the second clause, and you will see that they are meant for a transition period to be passed as soon as possible and to lead up to that change, which is to come with the reconstruction of the Empire after the War—that change to Self-Government of India on a footing of equality with the Self-Governing Dominions. It is to the last clause that I propose to ask your attention. The last clause says that in the reconstruction of the Empire after the War, India shall be lifted from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self-Governing Dominions. With regard to that, it is said that

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you ought not to embarrass the British Government by raising such a question as this in the middle of the War. We are only following the example of the Self-Governing Dominions. We are only taking the advice of Mr. Bonar Law, who advised the Dominions to strike the iron while it was red hot. After the reconstruction of the Empire, the iron will be cold, and where, I ask, is the blacksmith who allows the red-hot iron to cool down before he strikes it to the shape and form he wants?

We hear at this moment much talk about the five nations who are to form a Federated Empire after the War. Where is India? Oh! She is not one of the five. She is a coloured people, and coloured people are to have the right of domination over them by colourless people Coloured people have only the duty of submission. (Cries of 'Shame.') But that is not the doctrine that this coloured nation at least is willing to accept. We are not uncivilised natives of South Africa, that we should bow our heads beneath the yoke of the five nations. It is not lack of colour that makes clever brains. The Lord Buddha and the Christ were coloured men. All the founders of religion were coloured men. Have the colourless produced a single founder of religion? We will never bow beneath the yoke of the Colonies.

We are told not to spread bitterness against the Colonies. I think the writer of that has begun at the wrong end. Have we excluded the Colonies from India, because they could not talk or write some language of which they knew nothing? Was it this country or was it Australia

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that passed that Law? Have we said that no North American or Canadian should come to India unless he comes straight from port to port when there is no line of ships that carries straight from one to the other, or has Canada made that law against the Indian people? What is this talk of bitterness? Bitterness is caused by the Colonies and not by India. Let this advice be given to the Colonies and not to India. The Indian had no share in the making of that feeling.

Oh! We are not fit to govern ourselves and we are divided! Are we? We have shown some power of union during the last few years. Our Congress was split into half nine years ago. But we stand a United Congress to-day. Hindus and Muslims had a gulf between them, not in Kashmir where a Hindu Prince rules, not in the Deccan where a Muslim Prince is the Sovereign, but only in the British Raj, and that gulf has been bridged by Muslims and Hindus themselves, and we have linked our hands in love, in trust, in mutual forbearance, in mutual respect, and we stand to-day a united nation that nothing shall hereafter break asunder.

Oh! you are not fit for Self-Government. You are ignorant. Who has the right to cast that reproach at the masses of our people? It was the late Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale who tried to win free and compulsory education cautiously, carefully, step by step, for he was not an impatient idealist in the world, however much his heart went with impatient idealism. An Indian tried to educate his brethren but who is it that denied it?

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It was the Imperial Council with its perpetual majority of officials. Does it then lie in the mouths of Englishmen to reproach us with ignorance when the Government would not educate our people and would not help us to do it.

Then they say : "You cannot help yourselves." Did we pass the Arms Act? Did we take away weapons from the hands of our people? Since 1878, there has been no pure-blooded Indian, whether Hindu or Mussalman, who could possess arms without a licence, to the gaining of which all sorts of difficulties are attached. Is it India's fault that it is undefended? For thirty years the Congress has asked for the repeal of the Arms Act and for permission to volunteer and to open Military Colleges, and those who have treated every demand with contempt, say that we are not fit to govern ourselves, because we cannot defend ourselves. It is only Home Rule that will enable us to defend ourselves. Until we have Home Rule, we cannot be armed as we should be.

Oh ! it is said there are divisions among you. There are none in England ! (Laughter). Before the Great War in 1914, which saved the Empire, the United Kingdom was on the brink of Civil War. Was England then unfit for Self-Government? How far was England educated when the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed? Has England always been so quiet under difficulties? In 1913, were there no strikes paralysing railway traffic and threatening London with starvation, because of the lack of transport, as all men engaged in transport work were on strike, and yet England is

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fit for Self-Government, and you, quiet and industrious, are not?

As regards the objection, that educated Indians are in a minority: the educated of every country are in a minority, but they are not in so small a minority as the God-given Rulers of to-day. The educated minority know the people, and the English do not. People come here to learn about the Indian Nation. They live in Government camps, and they go about with Government officers. They make friends of those who have slandered India. Is that the way to learn what Indians think? What idea can they get of the village life when they see it under such circumstances.

Then we are told that we are injuring the prestige of the British Nation, and the Press Act is brought down to silence criticism. Have you forgotten that one of the Panjabi papers that described the condition of London was held to have excited hatred and contempt against His Majesty's British subjects, and the security of that paper was forfeited? Sir James Meston may think my language emphatic, I am afraid, but we want emphasis in order to make both our rulers and people understand the intolerable condition of things under which India is living to-day.

India has still love for England. India does not want to break the British connection, but the England she loves is not the steel-framed England of the Press Act, the Defence of India Act, the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and all those horrible enactments of 1818 and 1827. It is not the

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England of those things that we love; it is the England of Cromwell, of Hampden and Pym, of Milton and Shelley. It is the England that sheltered the threatened life of Mazzini, the England that welcomed Garibaldi by thousands in her streets as the liberator of Italy, the England that has been sheltering every political refugee, it is that England that we love. That is the England that, despite everything else, we still believe in, but she is ignorant and blinded by the people who come here on superficial knowledge and confirm her in her blunders instead of enlightening her.

England is fighting for her life, and has called India to help her with as much as India is able to give. Oh! India would have given so much more, so many more men, so many more volunteers in order to help England in the day of her need. But England at her peril calls on Indian soldiers to fight for the liberty of Belgium and the sacredness of treaties, and then sends those soldiers back home to find their people still in bondage and treaties disregarded, torn in pieces and thrown aside. That which England fights for in Europe she must admit here. There is only one thing which makes a Nation fit for freedom, and that is the heart to aspire after it, and the will which is determined to have it. England will not give you freedom, no Nation has ever been given freedom, but England will pass an Act of Parliament establishing freedom when she realises that you are in earnest, that you are tired of being played with, that you are determined to be free, and India's loyalty rests on a belief in the old England and not in the English bureaucracy, and her

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loyalty is the reasoned loyalty of freemen; she has asked for her place in the Empire, and until that is granted, there will be danger in the path of progress.

Mr. Balgangadhar Tilak

When Dadabhai Naoroji declared that "Swaraj" should be our goal, its name was, "Swaraj"; later on, it came to be known as Self-Government and Constitutional Reform, and we, Nationalists, style it Home Rule. It is all the same in three different names. There is the objection raised that "Swaraj" has a bad odour in India and "Home Rule" had a bad odour in England, and hence we ought to call it Constitutional Reform.

I do not care to call it by any name. I do not mind the name, but I believe you have hardly realised the importance and character of that scheme of reform. Let me tell you that it is far more liberal than the Irish Home Rule Bill, and then you can understand what possibilities it carries with it. It may not be complete Home Rule, but it is more than a beginning of it. It may not be complete Self-Government, but it is far better than Local Self-Government. It may not be "Swaraj" in the wider sense of the word, but it is far better than "Swadeshi" and "Boycott." It is, in fact, a synthesis of all the Congress resolutions passed during the last 30 years, a synthesis that will help us all to proceed to work in a definite and responsible manner. We cannot now afford to spend our energy on all the resolutions on the Public Services, the Arms Act,

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and sundry others. All is comprehended and included within this one resolution.

I would ask every one of you to try to carry out this one resolution with all your effort, might, and enthusiasm and everything that you can command; your intelligence, money, enthusiasm, all must now be devoted for carrying out this scheme of reform. Do not think it is an easy task. Nothing can be gained by passing resolutions on this platform by the simple union of the two races, the Hindus and the Muhammadans, and the two parties, the Moderates and the Nationalists. The union is intended to create a certain power and energy amongst us, and unless that power and energy are exercised, you cannot hope to succeed, so great are the obstacles in your way. You must now prepare to fight out the scheme. In short, I do not care if the sessions of the Congress are held no longer. I believe it has done its work as a deliberative body. The next part is the Executive and that will be placed before you afterwards.

When "Swaraj" was declared to be our goal, it was a question whether it was a legal goal. The Calcutta High Court held it was a legal goal a year afterwards. Then it was a question whether it was legal. Finally, it was decided that it must be carried out, and expressed in such words as would not cast any slur on the bureaucracy which was the master at the time. That, too, has been decided judicially, that you can make any criticism in order to further your objects and justify your demand, and that it comes within the bounds of law. So, the goal of "Swaraj"

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is declared legal, and here you have a specific scheme of "Swaraj" passed by the united communities of the Hindus and Muhammadans. All the thorns in your way have been removed. It will be your own fault if you do not succeed in attaining what is now described in this scheme. This is a very serious responsibility. Do not shirk it but work for it.

The days of wonders are gone. You cannot feed now 100,000 people on a few crumbs of bread as you did in Jesus' day. The attaining of this object cannot be achieved by the wonders of Heaven. You have to do it. These are days of work and incessant labour, and I hope that, with the help of Providence, you will find that energy and those resources which are required for carrying out that scheme. I hope that by the end of 1917, when I expect that the War will be closed, or at least in 1918, we shall meet at some place in India, where we shall be able to raise up the banner of Self-Rule.

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Sir Dinshaw Petit

I have taken upon myself to answer the command of our leaders to address you, lest my refusal should be construed into some sort of apathy on the part of the community, to which I belong, towards the just, the righteous aspirations of the people of this country. There cannot be the slightest doubt as to what could be the views of the community which has produced a Dadabhai Naoroji and a Pherozeshah Mehta. It is said by those, who do not like the advancement of the people of this country towards the attainment of Home Rule, that the Parsees under the British Government have been enjoying too many high offices and high posts, that they do not know what they would gain by casting in their lot with the Hindus and the Mahomedans in making this demand. Do not for a moment think that the Parsees, when they are under the Government of Home Rule, will in any way suffer in that direction, but, admitting for argument's sake for a moment that they did, would it be right and sensible to expect that for the benefit of a few thousand Parsees, 320 millions of people should be denied their birthright and their privilege? It is always said that the Parsees are the most loyal community in India. They are second to none in their loyalty to the Crown, and, therefore, it is because they are loyal, they support this movement, because everybody must feel that there is nothing which would contribute more towards the permanency of the British connection in India than Home Rule under British guidance.

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Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal

Self-Government, pure and simple, is the resolution to which our leaders have spoken, to which you have already given your acceptance. It is the first article of the Congress; it is the first article of Indian Nationality; it is the first article of every self-respecting nation, every civilised nation in humanity. It is the first article of every man and woman who feels within himself or herself the call of the Divine. It is the first article of every *yogi*, of every *gnani* and of every *bhaktha*, because Self-Government is the pith and foundation, not only of the life temporal, but also of the life spiritual. Yesterday you passed a resolution from the chair, avowing sincerely and honestly your allegiance to the British connection. It seems to me that the resolution to-day follows as a necessary corollary to that resolution of yesterday, because the only condition upon which British connection with India can be perpetuated is the realisation of the resolution that has been placed before you to-day. This resolution divides itself into three parts. The first part demands that there must be a Royal Proclamation. Why do you demand a proclamation? I do not know that. I will tell you why I demand it. I know there is deep despair upon the face of India at the present time. I have talked to the young. I have met old men of my age and men older than myself, and the one thing that each one and all of them has said to me is, "What is the good of it?" Deep despair and despondency sit upon the face of India at the

present time, but not in me. I believe we have a future. I am fully assured that you and I shall be and shall live in our own country, just as every other civilised people in the world are living in their own country. I have no doubt about the future. I see clearly, as I see the grey beard of the President from here, that Self-Government for India is absolutely assured, but my people do not believe it; the old men do not believe it. They say, "What is the good? Let us die in peace." The young men do not believe in it. "What is the good? Let us earn money and leave a generation behind us," and the middle-aged gentlemen say the same.

We want a message of practical hope, a message of objective hope, and, therefore, we want this message from the British Crown and the British Parliament to tell us that we shall live in our own country as other people live in their own country; but that will not do. We have had declarations, and we have been disabused of being taken in by politicians' words. We want something substantial and a substantial assurance that this declaration will not go the way of similar declarations in the past. We want the reform scheme placed before the Congress, prepared by the Congress and the Muslim League, to be immediately put into action. That is the second, but that is not all. You are talking of the reconstruction of the Empire, but I want to know what this Empire is without India. Is there a British Empire without India? They talk of man power, the total man power of the British Empire, all told of the age from 15 to 35, is something

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like 11 crores, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores of that man power consists of white humanity and $9\frac{1}{2}$ crores of brown and black humanity. What is the British Empire, then, in man-power if you leave out the $9\frac{1}{2}$ crores, the youth, the muscle, of India? You talk of brain power. Where is the brain power of the Empire? As it is, we have no opportunity for the exercise of our brains for the application of our intellect, to the solution of the larger world problems of the day. We have no place in the councils of the statesmen. If we had, we might have proved our power as we have already proved it in the Bar, on the Bench, in every walk of life. Where we have had an opportunity, we have proved that the Indian brain is not a negligible quality in the Empire. Why have we only one J. C. Bose, only one P. C. Ray, only one Professor Paranjpye? Not for want of brain-power, but for want of opportunities to realise to the full extent the brain power of our nation. Give us that opportunity, or rather remove the obstacles from it, and we shall take the opportunity and utilise them ourselves to their fullest extent, and therefore we say that we want this.

The third thing is about the reconstruction of the Empire. We say impossible, Sir, if India is left out; worse than impossible; it will be the death of Indian national aspirations on the one side and the death of imperial ambitions on the other if India is left out in the construction of the Empire. Thirty years ago it might have been conceivable to leave India out of the Imperial family. To keep India as a helot, as drawers of water and hewers of wood to-day with

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this new awakened national consciousness, this sensitive patriotism, throbbing through the heart of the old and young, the thing is unthinkable, inconceivable, dangerous, fatal to the permanence of the British connection. Therefore, we say that these three parts of the resolutions should have not only your acceptance, but should command the serious attention of the round table and the square table and every table on earth.

The Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru

If I was asked to sum up our demand in one word, I would say unhesitatingly that what we want is not so much of reforms as the power to reform ourselves. Reforms in driblets, in instalments, we have had in the past, and we may expect to have them in the future, but they will not satisfy the rising and growing aspirations of our countrymen now. Self-respect alone demands that, like other self-respecting nations of the world, we should be allowed a free hand to work out our own destiny and that we should not be treated as perpetual schoolboys in politics. (Hear, hear.)

. . . . . .

It has been said by a distinguished writer, whose name has come up before you during the last two days, that the real cement of the Empire is devotion to the Empire. Granted. In this land of spirituality we do not want a Westerner to teach us a lesson in devotion. (Hear, hear.) But may I be permitted to ask whether it is possible for any human being to be

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devoted when there is no response to that devotion. (Hear, hear.) Devoted to England we have been in the past, devoted to England we shall be in the future. But if by devotion to the Empire is meant that we should be devoted to the Colonies, then I, for one, will have no hesitation in saying that India will refuse to allow the Colonies to rule over her. Let us not mince matters over this. Let us be plain and outspoken. To England we have been devoted, we are and we shall be, but India will not be so shortsighted and so foolish as to allow the Colonies to have a finger in her pie.

Gentlemen, the next point that has been urged against us is, that we have not got the capacity to rule ourselves. When was the discovery made, may I ask? Until at least 60 or 70 years ago before England took over directly the control of affairs in India into her hands who were ruling us? We ourselves. Is it really intended to be said that during the last 60 or 70 years since the control of affairs in India has passed into England's hands, that we have lost all capacity? If the answer is 'yes,' I say the discredit is to those who have deprived us of the capacity. I venture to submit with all respect and with all sincerity that we have not lost the capacity for Self-Government. Witness the Native States of Hyderabad, Baroda, and Mysore. Who is ruling them? Our own countrymen. It really comes to this, that so far as the power of initiative is concerned, so far as the scope for talent is concerned, that is denied to us here, and it is not denied to the people in the states like Hyderabad, Baroda and Mysore. Gentlemen, assuming that we have lost something of

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the capacity, how are we going to recover that capacity? By being denied admission to the inner circles of the Government or by being allowed to commit mistakes and to learn thereby? The answer is obvious.

Now, gentlemen, there is one more objection which I wish to notice and then I will retire. It has been said by that very writer Mr. Curtis, that the one great and supreme objection to self-government being conferred just now on this country is that we have not got sufficiently large electorates. And I may tell you in confidence that I was told personally that if we could show to England that one-fifth of the population possessed sufficient political capacity, then they would not object to our getting self-government. Now, gentlemen, you have got 315 million people in this country—I am very poor in arithmetic—I believe one-fifth of that comes to 63 million. And at the rate of progress we have been making in the matter of primary education, I should think it would take us 400 or 500 years before we get political capacity. (Laughter.) I know, gentlemen, that India is always famous for patience. But the time has come now for us to say definitely and without equivocation that self-government is no longer to us a far-off adorable dream, that we want to achieve it as soon as possible by all constitutional means open to us without mincing matters and without equivocating on that point. Let it not be held to us as an ideal to be reached within 100 years or 200 years. Of course patience is a great virtue, but, gentlemen, outspokenness too if, I may be permitted to say so,

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is sometimes a greater virtue. Let us not deceive ourselves, let us not be deceived by others by saying that we are going to be content with these small driblets of reforms. The time for that has gone by. The time has come when England should call upon its statesmen to exercise their higher gifts of statesmanship, to exercise their gifts of imagination, to exercise their gifts of political judgment and feel the political temperature of this country and act accordingly. (Loud applause.)

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu

We are united to-day by the efforts of the Muslim League. We stand united, but united with such strength that nothing from outside, not even the tyranny of Colonial domination, shall withhold from us our rights and privileges, withhold from us the liberties that are due, which we claim by our united voice; nothing can prevent us from achieving the desires of our heart, for the final issues are in your hands. The ultimate decision is yours, and who will deny you the birthright of freedom if the millions of India speak with one voice and say, "Ours is the right of freedom; we claim it; we take it; you dare not deny to us the birthright of humanity." Centuries have gone by; the old divisions are healed; old wounds are covered; instead of building our regeneration on hatred and division, we stand to-day building our national future on the secure imperishable foundation of love and united service. Each of us has

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gained that living consciousness, that it is united service for the Motherland that constitutes the supremest hope of to-morrow. There is no one so mean, so weak, so selfish, as not to think that in the service of the Motherland, his joy is greater than all personal joys; in suffering for her comes the supremest consolation in our personal sorrow, and in her worship is the absolution of sin. To live for her is the most victorious triumph of life; to die for her is to achieve the priceless crown of immortality. Let us then offer our lives unanimously as a tribute at the feet of the Motherland; for as the great Prophet of Islam says, Under the feet of the Mother lies Paradise.

Mr. Joseph Baptista

The task before us is to rescue India from her present plight and place her on a pedestal upon which we can look with pride and pleasure. What is the present plight of India? Is there anyone who is satisfied with the present position of India? Go outside British India. India is a mere political cipher in the political world. Nobody cares a fig for her and nobody thinks of her. Is that a proper position for 300 millions of people to occupy in this Empire? Within the Empire what do you find? Go to the Colonies, the curse of colour. In the South African War, Indians stood by Englishmen and fought beside and shed their blood for them. What is the reward? Exclusion from the country or confinement in isolated

places, subjected to regulations so odious that it makes our blood boil. Such is the reward and such is the gratitude of a civilised and Christian country. Coming home, what do you find? The curse of distrust, distrust everywhere, excluded from the army, as you know, excluded from the use of arms by the Arms Act on account of distrust and thereby emasculated, subjected to the Press laws and God knows, to what other laws, as Mr. Surendranath Banerjea said. Apart from that what do you find with a fauna and flora which can produce everything to minister to the comforts of all people and with men who are skilful in production? You have 50 to 60 millions of people pledged to starvation from day to day. (Cries of "Shame.") Is this the structure of the Empire with which you are satisfied? Anglo-Indian architects have had a free hand for the last 150 years, and this is the Empire they have produced. I ask you, is there any man with sense or sensibility that can look upon this and say that this is a proper thing for us? Can anyone say that this is a mansion befitting the ancient civilisation and the latent potentialities of the country? Is this not a glorified chawl? This is due not to the men that administer, but entirely to the system under which it is administered. There cannot be the slightest doubt that no improvement is possible unless the centralised system is done away with. At the present moment what are we? We are under a centralised system of government in India, which is after all a mere administrative department of government in England and no more.

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Mr. Jehangir B. Petit

The proposition before you obtains the quintessence of the desires and demands of the Indian nation, passed year after year at different sessions of the Indian National Congress. I have no faith in the so-called change of angle of vision. If the Indian nation is determined to have what is embodied in this resolution, the only way to get it is to show to the Government that the population of this great country is determined at all costs to have it. What is it that secured for South Africa immediately after its annexation its independence and self-government? What is it that secured for the other Colonies their independence and self-government? By making administration impossible they obtained self-government. Once you declared your determination in unmistakable terms, Home Rule or Self-Government will not be delayed or withheld from you one day longer.

The Hon. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar

From the day of the birth of the Congress, the demand for control over our own affairs, the demand for Self-Government has been the most important, the most vital and essential demand of the Congress. When you sent deputations to England of men going from the Congress, the main thing which they had to represent, on which they had to elicit the help of the British people, was that, as we were British subjects, we ought to be given all the rights of British citizenship.

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Equality with the self-governing parts of the Empire has been our demand from the first. In the beginning as we had to make a beginning, we had to ask for the introduction of the principle of representation and election in our Legislative Councils and for the expansion of their rights and the enlargement of their numbers. Nobody deluded himself with the belief that a few members or even a large number of members added to the Councils, and some expansion of their functions was the goal of our aspirations. That was only the first step of the ladder which we had to mount. There were immense difficulties in attaining to that extent. You know what difficulties were raised in 1890 and '91 for granting that modicum of representation which was subsequently granted in 1892, but that was, as I said, the very first step which had to be taken. During all the years which followed, we had to reiterate our demands: we had to ask for further expansions of the Councils and further extensions of the principle of representation and election. Then came what are called the Morley-Minto Reforms, which gave us our existing Imperial and Provincial Councils, but even in regard to that, we were careful to mention that this is only the next step which has to be taken, and very soon after this, further steps will have to be taken. Gentlemen, in the case of individuals and of nations, every individual and every nation has to pass through three stages. The first is the stage of self-consciousness or self-realisation. We had, first of all, to focus our self-consciousness, our consciousness as a nation, and it was for that pur-

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pose that the Indian National Congress was called into existence. After that, we had to assert ourselves; we had to say what we are and what we have to be, and after that, as in the case of individuals, comes the further stage of self-control, in the case of nations there is the further stage of self-government. No self-respecting nation can carry on its existence properly unless it is able to control its destinies to be the arbiter of its own fate, and it is that for which we are now making a more articulate, a more practical, a more detailed demand. We were asking for Self-Government; we were called upon to state what it is we wanted; we were told: "There are all these differences amongst you. Even amongst you Hindus, you are not united, and between you and the Mahomedans is an impassable gulf." Well, gentlemen, this Congress has demonstrated to the world, to all our critics, that there is absolutely no difference of opinion amongst either the two large communities or amongst any sections of the Reform Party in India. (Hear, hear.) Now, this proposition, in its first paragraph, asks you to place before the Government our demand, to carry to the Crown our request that His Majesty will be pleased to issue a proclamation assuring to the people of India that they are entitled to have Self-Government given to them at a very early period. (Hear, hear.) That is the first paragraph. In the second paragraph, we put before them reforms which should be carried out immediately, in regard to which there could be no difference of opinion, because they are only legitimate extensions of the principles which have

been adopted. They asked us for definite schemes, and a definite scheme has been put forward. They asked: "What will the Mahomedans say to this?"

Here, the representative body of the Mahomedans and the Congress Committee have sat together, and they have brought out a scheme to which both parties are equally pledged. This is then our reply to our critics about introducing a practical scheme.

Then we come to the third part which is most vital and important at this time. That is this, that India refuses to be placed on a footing of inferiority to any other part of the Empire.

We say, "as we are an important section, as India is the most glorious jewel in the British Crown, India ought to have a place adequate to her past, adequate to her present, and of equal position in the future." This is what we ask in the third: We refuse to be dominated by any section of any portion of the so-called Self-Governing Colonies or self-governing portions of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) We say that without India, the British Empire will be of very little importance, and in consonance with that importance should be the recognition accorded to us.

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Diwan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar

I propose to consider a few objections that are urged to the grant of Self-Government or any measure of it to the Indian people. Gentlemen, we are taunted with being a coloured people and as such unfit for representative institutions. I would ask which is the greater evil, to have a coloured skin or to have a coloured vision. (Hear, hear.) I am not ashamed to own that we possess coloured skins. We can, however, honestly say that so far as our vision goes, it is altogether unclouded and clear. After all, gentlemen, it was in the just dispensation of Providence that we are a coloured people. If we were otherwise, colourless as Mrs. Besant has said, the effect of that would have been that we should have been where our critics are, elbowing them out and making it difficult for them to be there. (Laughter.) After all, gentlemen, is it a fact that the coloured skin unfits for representative institutions? In this connection you will notice that the Lulu, the Hottentot, the Kaffir, the Negro, the Australian the Hindu, the Mussalman and the Parsee are all to be in one lump, and they are all coloured people. Absolutely no attention is paid to their civilisation, to their culture, and to their inherited equipment. Gentlemen, what are the facts. You find that even a responsible writer like Jeannefiot says, that the Negroes were able to develop Self-Government in 50 years to the extent that the white were able to do in the course of five or six centuries. You find that the Philippine Islands although they came under the domination of

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people who are prepared to trust them with Self-Government in two decades they are found fit, and can it be said of us with the past history that we possess on which many previous speakers have expatiated, can it be said of us that we are so dead to all the necessary requirements of democratic institutions that self-government with us must mean failure. The experiment which has been allowed to be made, the experiment which has been in operation in the Native States, has proved an unqualified success, and after all when you realise that good government can never be better than Self-Government itself, there ought to be no reason whatever why the measure of Self-Government that we ask for should be denied to us. * * * * * Gentlemen, it is also stated that there is illiteracy among the people. Now before Lord Durham recommended a scheme for self-government in Canada, he found that a great proportion of the teachers can neither read nor write. If in these circumstances you can find a nation fit for self-government, we do not stand in the same predicament of whom whatever else can be said, it cannot be said that our teachers know neither to read nor write ; can it be said of us that on account of illiteracy we are unable to have self-government? Then, gentlemen, it is stated that there is the war of masses and classes, that the interests of the educated community are opposed to the interests of the masses so that the educated community cannot be trusted to take care of the masses. Now with respect to this again who have been the best friends of the masses? That we are in a position to realise

their needs cannot be denied. Who is it that ask for compulsory education? It is the educated classes. Who were the friends of the co-operative movement? It is the educated classes. Can we think of two levers more powerful to uplift the masses than universal compulsory education and the spread of co-operative movement among the people. Gentlemen, there is only one word more I wish to say and I shall be done. Dr. Sapru has told us how we look upon the Dominions participating in the control of our affairs. I unite my feeble voice to the emphatic expression that we made our strong and resolute determination not to allow the Dominions to take part in any concerns in which we might be involved, by every means in our power that can be open to us so long as they continue to be what they are.

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The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma

We ask for provincial autonomy in domestic matters with a central legislature armed with extensive powers and completely dominating all domestic concerns, with an executive armed with extensive powers subject to the will of the Imperial Parliament as it exists at present, and if there should be a revision, with India as a partner, as an equal partner, in every sense of the term with the Self-Governing Dominions of the Empire. A question then naturally would be, are we fit for it? Are we asking for reforms along lines, lines along which we have not experimented in the past. Turn to past history, turn to medieval history, turn to modern history, all history alike tells us that Indian peoples with rulers of their own race have been able to rule countries far more extensive than the Indian Empire of the present day; for those rulers have been holding sway over Khandahar and Ceylon and other vast colonies which the genius of our ancestors created first in times past. Was this domination only for short periods? No; for long centuries, for periods longer than that of any empire, modern or past. Then comes the question, have we still capacity? I assure you, gentlemen, that the skill and capacity, though dormant in us, are not yet completely dead. If you read history aright what does it tell us? We see a large number of autonomous States linked together by loose federal tie, paying tribute and acknowledging the supremacy of the central authority of the government to the Maharajadiraj, Sultan, or Emperor. Our Maha-

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rajadiraj, Sultan or Emperor is the British Imperial Majesty. Our autonomous States are the Native States of India and the provincial governments which we create under our scheme with self-governing powers. The central authority is the Government of India, and the Viceroy is the deputy of the Maharajadiraj. The central authority is armed exactly as the old Emperors were armed with a council of elders. They are given by our scheme advisedly vast powers over the military and over the national army, which has to be created under our scheme. Gentlemen, have we weakened the British power? If the Resident of a Native State with the British power at his back can keep government going, cannot our Governors with two Executive Councillors, nominees of his, with the British power at his back, rule a Province? We have provided for democratic institutions. The Allies say that they are now engaged in crushing Prussian military despotism, that the future safety of mankind lies in the increase of democratic institutions and we have provided for them. Gentlemen, we have not weakened the British power in any the slightest degree. We have not lost the capacity. Then comes the question, are there not various insuperable difficulties in our way, are there not barriers? They existed in the past, they existed last year in Switzerland and yet there is no difficulty. The religious difficulty is the same. Then I come to the educational test. Now remember, gentlemen, that the number of literate people in India is 18 millions, nearly the same as the total male population of England, and are we to be told that

with this literate population we cannot find enough men to rule this country when only an infinitesimal fraction thereof are able to govern India in the best interests of India? Our universities are turning out graduates nearly as numerous as the British universities. Then comes the question: if we are not educationally backward, what is it that stands in the way? The colour bar. I hope that the Government will not repeat the supposed mistake and land the Empire in disaster. The true difficulty seems to be that a fear is felt that in a federal commonwealth, India might in a short space of time become the paramount power. That is the real difficulty. But sufficient safeguards may be provided and the day is far off, because it is only in proportion to the contribution to national defences that any State can have representation. We are economically poor, and we cannot, therefore, contribute much, and consequently we shall take a place superior to that of the Colonies but inferior to that of England, and there is no very great danger that we will be able to swamp the rest of the Empire in the councils of the country.—*From the speech delivered at the Lucknow Congress, held in 1916.*

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The Hon. Mr. Abdul Rasul*

It is known that England is the most freedom-loving country in the world. It was pointed out in another place how all political refugees of Europe found shelter in England. When England along with other powers advocated the cause of freedom, did England think that India was not as educated as some of the other countries following? Most of you know that England along with other powers advocated Self-Government for the Balkan States. The people of India are better educated than the people of the Balkan States. Are we less educated and advanced than what Japan was fifty years ago? When Self-Government was granted to the people of Japan, we find that even the negroes in Siberia have Self-Government. The wording of our resolution is most moderate, and reforms that we now ask for are only steps to a further measure of Self-Government. That is our goal. I hope the Government will not consider our demands extravagant. It has been stated in some papers that after the War, the Colonies would have a large share in the administration of India. I do not know if that is correct or not. We have been ruled by the

* Speech in moving the following Resolution at the Muslim League, 1916 :—"The All-India Muslim League, while adopting the scheme of reforms prepared by the Reform Committee of the League and approved by its Council, submits it in conjunction with the Indian National Congress to Government for its introduction after the War as a first necessary step towards the establishment of complete Self-Government in India."

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English people, but certainly we shall object to be ruled by the Civilians who come from the Colonies, which do not treat our people in a way that they ought to, having regard to the fact that the Indians, South Africans, Australians, etc., are all subjects of the same sovereign. We know what our people want better than the Civilians who come from South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and England. I do not mean any disparagement to the members of the Indian Civil Service when I say that in 95 cases out of 100, they do not understand our languages. There is a great deal of misunderstanding about this question of Home Rule or Self-Government. Our rulers and Anglo-Indian editors of papers say that our object is to drive the English out of India. It is not the intention either of the Hindus or the Mussalmans to drive the English out of India. If it is to be a settled fact, that the Colonies are to have control over our affairs, we must insist on having our share in the control of the affairs of the Empire.

* * * *

After the Boer War, the British statesmen granted Self-Government to South Africa. When we are shedding blood in the cause of the British Empire, are we to be debarred from having that measure of Self-Government which Boers, who were enemies of Britain, have attained within a few years of the annexation of South Africa?

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The Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan

It is the greatest compliment to Great Britain that within a century of her rule India considers herself advanced enough to claim the boon of Self-Government. If the British nation after all that she claims to have done for India does not consider her fit for this privilege, she deliberately undervalues her own capacity of elevating nations whose fate it is to be under her rule. Great Britain has been, deservedly or undeservedly, credited with the possession of a genius for benevolent governance of alien races for their greatest good. In this art of government she claims to have succeeded to a phenominal extent. None can bear better witness to this claim than the nations that have borne the brunt of the experiment. This world war has put all the nations on the face of the globe on their mettle and every one has to give an account of her charge at the bar of the world's judgment. The affairs of all nations are being subjected to the fierce searchlight of scrutiny both from without and from within. The component parts of the British Empire have awakened to the defects of the Imperial machinery, and they rightly demand readjustment of inter-state relationships and effective voice in international matters. The truth is, that Great Britain has so long controlled an empire through the time-worn institution of the British Parliament that was designed only for the administration of a small kingdom of England and Scotland, and which was out of joint even for the neighbouring isle of Ireland. A

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system of Imperial Government suited to the modern times—in fact, an Imperial Democracy as distinct from a rule of one nation by another—has yet to be evolved. Great Britain owes it to herself as the controlling partner of the only world-wide empire of the day as much as she owes it to the humanity at large to so reconstruct the Empire as would equally satisfy all its parts. In spite of their serious pre-occupation, Great Britain and her so-called Dominions have become keenly alive to this necessity. Preliminaries are already being arranged for the settlement of this momentous question, and at this juncture India considers it her duty to declare what part she should have in the councils of the Empire and what form of government would suit her best.

This she does now in the most unmistakable language. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the demand for substantial reforms in the administration, and for the grant of self-government at an early date, is put forth for the first time in the name of United India. There can be no better proof of our political sagacity and fitness for self-government than the manner in which the two great peoples of India have composed their differences and come to an understanding that will undoubtedly insure—nay it has already insured—their perfect solidarity.—*From the speech at the Moslem League, Lucknow, 1916.*

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Sir S. P. Sinha, Kt.

It seems to me, brother-delegates, that the only satisfactory form of Self-Government to which India aspires cannot be anything short of what President Lincoln so pithily described as "government of the people, for the people and *by the people*." (*Applause*). . . . . And by the people, I do not mean Civil Servants composed entirely of Indians but I mean the people who live in villages and till the soil. . . . . It is these people whom we want to take part in the government of the country. . . . . While we admit that the goal is not yet, we refuse to believe that it is so distant as to render it a mere vision of the imagination. (*Applause, and "hear, hear."*) We deprecate the impatience of those who imagine that we have only to stretch our hands to grasp the coveted prize. But we differ equally from those who think that the end is so remote as to be a negligible factor in the ordinary work of even present-day administration. . . . . The various concrete measures which the Congress advocates as an effective advance towards Self-Government on lines suited to India's special requirements—a decisive advance towards provincial autonomy, the liberalisation of the Council Regulations, establishment of elective as opposed to non-official majorities, an increase of their powers of control, specially in regard to finance, a larger representation of Indians in the various Executive Councils as also in the Council of the Secretary of State, the admission of larger numbers of Indians to all the higher branches of the

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public services, the long-delayed separation of judicial and executive functions, the expansion of primary, scientific and technical education, the abolition of indentured labour and the improvement of the position of Indians in other parts of the Empire. . . . Commissions in the Army and Military training. . . . . 1st. We ask for the right to enlist in the regular army, irrespective of race or province of origin, but subject only to prescribed tests of physical fitness. 2nd. We ask that the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army should be thrown open to all classes of His Majesty's subjects, subject to fair, reasonable and adequate physical and educational tests. We ask that a military college or colleges should be established in India (*applause*) where proper military training can be received by those of our countrymen who will have the good fortune to receive His Majesty's Commission. 3rd. We ask that all classes of His Majesty's subjects should be allowed to join as volunteers, subject, of course, again, to such rules and regulations as will ensure proper control and discipline; and 4th, we ask that the invidious distinctions under the Arms Act should be removed. (*Applause*). . . . . The opening of a military career will fire the imagination and stimulate the virility of India in a way that nothing else can do. And is it too much to ask for India to expect to be treated in the same way as Russia treats her subject races, —especially after the proof she has given of the prowess of her sons and their devotion and their loyalty to the Imperial standard? Reason and convenience, justice and necessity, all support

every one of the claims I have ventured to put forward, and if a definite advance is not made in these respects, it will be difficult to believe that the War has changed the *angle of vision* of our rulers. (*Hear, hear.*) It will be impossible to retain faith in what was proclaimed by the present Premier, Mr. Asquith, "that the Empire rests, not upon the predominance, artificial and superficial, of race or class, but upon the loyal affection of free communities built upon the basis of equal rights."—*From the Congress Presidential Address, Bombay, 1915.*

The Hon. Mr. D. E. Wacha

It is, of course, in consonance with the constitutional creed laid down by the Congress, that Self-Government under the British Rule is its *ultima thule* (applause). * * * * It is not the multiplicity of organisations which is wanted. What is most essential and of paramount importance is the concentration of responsible opinion, well-reasoned, well-balanced and well-directed, which might unmistakably reveal the fact that India is of one mind and one heart (applause). * * * Self-Government is bound to come, I venture to say, (applause) albeit, by measured stages, from precedent to precedent. * * * As to the members of the distinguished Service, the men in power and authority, I need not say that it would be idle for them any longer to deny the ideal altogether to the Indians, or to say that the country can never be ready for it or to put every

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obstacle in the way of its realisation. And the sooner, therefore, they prepare themselves to meet the wishes and sentiments of that New India rising fast before it, the better it will be for their own existence and their reputation for administrative sagacity (hear, hear). In his memorable "History of Civilisation," the historian Buckle has observed: "Men have recently begun to understand that, in politics, no certain principles having yet been discovered, the first conditions of success are compromise, barter, expediency and concession. It will show utter helplessness even of the ablest rulers, when they try to meet new emergencies by old maxims. It will show the intimate connection between knowledge and liberty; between an increasing civilisation and an advancing democracy. It will show that for a progressive nation, there is required a progressive policy; that within certain limits, innovation is the solid ground of security; that no institution can withstand the flux and movements of society, unless it not only repairs its structure but also widens its entrance; and that even in a material point of view no country can long remain either prosperous or safe, in which the people are not gradually extending their power, enlarging their privileges, and, so to say, incorporating themselves with the functions of the State. Neglect of of these truths has entailed the most woeful calamity upon other countries." Such is the undoubted truth which history has deduced from past politics of great States which, we fain hope, will be ever present before the minds of the rulers of present India and serve as the basis of the

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coming policy of reconstruction. Let us earnestly pray that this terrible war now waging may, by the mercy of Divine Providence, be brought to a satisfactory and peaceful close, whereby our rulers may be enabled to respond to the popular appeal by laying down a far-seeing policy, which will give a first instalment of genuine and living representation in the active Government of the country broad-based upon the people's will.—*From a speech as Chairman, Bombay Congress Reception Committee, 1915.*

The Hon. Mr. Mazur-ul-Haque

Gentlemen, our demands are neither immediate nor peremptory. We can wait and must wait till the end of the war, when the whole Empire will be reconstructed upon new lines; but there is no harm in postulating our demands now and informing the British people of the unity and the intensity with which the reforms are insisted upon. When the affairs of the Empire are taken into consideration, our views should be before the English nation. Of course, we cannot expect that India will change in the twinkling of an eye by some magical process, but we do hope that a new policy will be initiated, which will end in self-government and give us the status and power of a living nation. If you ask me to give you indications of reforms which are immediately needed, I would say that the first step towards Self-Government must be taken by abolishing the packed official majority

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in the Imperial Council. We must have a sure and safe elected non-official majority, which would discuss and deal with all Indian questions from the Indian standpoint. Next, we must free the Executive Council of the Viceroy from the incubus of the Bureaucracy. Then fierce light would be thrown into the dark corners of Indian administration. We must have more Indians in the Executive Council, which is really the chief source from which policies emanate. Again, a great reform that is needed is what has been called "Provincial Autonomy." Local self-government should not be a mere sham, but based on real foundations as contemplated by that noble Viceroy the Marquis of Ripon. The Arms Act must disappear from the Statute-Book, and no limitation should be laid on the entry of Indians into any Public Service. Volunteers should be enlisted freely from all classes. Agriculture must be improved, and commerce and industry helped. Education will have to be free and compulsory. I have refrained from laying down any cut-and-dry scheme of self-government. I suggest that there should be unanimity on these questions amongst all the people of India, and I can conceive of no better agency than that of a joint deputation of the Congress and the League, which would place our demands before the British public and the British Government.—*From the Presidential Address to the All-India Muslim League, Bombay, 1915.*

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The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla

It was two short years ago that in speaking of the political atmosphere in India on a similar occasion, I compared the relations of the British Government with the people of India to those of a guardian and his wards. I feel, and I believe, every one of you will agree with me when I say, that it is with fostering care that the people of India are, in the words of Mrs. Besant, being gradually trained to appreciate the advantages, value and benefits of free institutions. It is owing to that connection that the guardian wishes the wards in their minority to come forward gradually and reach that goal of Self-Government which is laid down under our Constitution. Ladies and gentlemen, there is nothing more easy than to tell you that we have reached already the stage when we shall get self-government at once. No one would be more pleased or more grateful, no one will be more proud to realise that my countrymen have already reached a stage when they are capable of governing themselves without any outside help whatsoever (hear, hear). If that is so, then there is nothing further to be said. The resolution, which is placed before you, carries out in spirit the declared creed of the Congress. The Congress lays down that we shall achieve self-government under the ægis of the British Crown, and the measures that are necessary to reach that stage are enumerated, some of them, at least, in the resolution that is placed before you.—*Speech in moving the Self-Government Resolution at the Bombay Congress, 1915.*

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The Hon. Babu Bhupendranath Basu

Thousands of our boys' are receiving education on Western lines in Indian Universities based on Western models; hundreds of them are daily flocking to the Universities of Europe, America and Japan and on their return home spreading the knowledge that they have acquired. You may chain Prometheus, but the fire is lighted and cannot be extinguished. (Hear, hear.) India wants a higher life, a wider sphere of activity and usefulness. India wants that her Government should be consistent with her growing self-respect and intellectuality. India wants that the presumption which has all along existed, and which the Board of Directors, in 1833, made a vain attempt to dispel, namely, that the Indians can only rise to a certain limit, should be removed from the precincts of her Court, as it has been from the Statute-Book, and the door to her services should not be closed by artificial barriers against her own sons. India wants that her children should have the same rights of equal citizenship as other members of the Empire. (Hear, hear, and applause). India wants the removal of vexatious hindrances on the liberty of speech and freedom of the Press, (hear, hear, and applause) fruitless and dangerous alike to the Government and the people. And, above all, India wants that her Government should be an autonomous Government under the British Empire. (Applause.) Then only the great benefits, which have emanated from British rule

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and which carry with them the memory of doles, will be sweetened with the sweat of her brow. . .

The war has come to us as a trumpet-call—it has roused enthusiasm in England for India; it has moved the heart of Anglo-India and has even drawn the British Colonies out of their exclusiveness. Our Viceroy has been telling us of the formation of a new policy of reciprocity between India and the Colonies. No reciprocity, except on terms of equality, would be acceptable to India. (Hear, hear.) Would the Colonies give it? Not in the past, but now there is hope of a settlement consistent with our position in the Empire, for this is what a leading organ of public opinion in South Australia says:—

It was only ignorance that thought of the Indians as an inferior race. They are the equals, fully the equals, of the proudest European Nation, and they claim, in their own land, to be free citizens governing themselves, and shaping their own National destiny, within the many-nationed 'Empire of the Free.' Who shall say them nay?

Now is our time: we must throw away our lethargy: let us bind our waist-cloth on and head forward to our goal: and that goal is not unworthy of our highest aspirations: it has satisfied the dignity and the self-esteem of the French in Canada, and of the Boer in South Africa, who to-day are the staunchest supporters of England: and when it comes to us, as I am sure it soon will, it will strengthen and not weaken the bonds that unite England and India. To the spiritual framework of the East has come the inspiration of the West. Let us combine the patience of the

East with the energy of the West, and we shall not fail. We are better situated to-day than Italy or Japan was in 1860: we are beginning to feel the strength and growing solidarity of the people of India: India has realised that she must be a vital and equal part of the Empire, and she has worthily seized her great opportunity. In the melting pot of destiny, race, creed, and colour are disappearing. If India has realised this, so has England. Through the mouth of the Prime Minister, the English people have said to us:

We welcome with appreciation and affection your proferred aid, and in an Empire which knows no distinction of race or class, where all alike are subjects of the King-Emperor and are joint and equal custodians of our common interest and futures, we here hail with profound and heartfelt gratitude your association side by side and shoulder to shoulder with the Home and Dominion troops, under a flag which has a symbol to all of a unity that a world in arms cannot dissever or dissolve. (Prolonged applause.)

Brother delegates, it is no use looking backward; no use in vain regrets. Let us be ready for the future, and I visualize it. I see my country occupying an honoured and proud place in the comity of nations. I see her sons sitting in the Councils of our great Empire, conscious of their strength and bearing its burden on their shoulders as valued and trusted comrades and friends, and I see India rejuvenated and re-incarnate in the glories of the future broadened by the halo of the past. What does it matter if a solitary raven croak from the sand banks of the Jumna and the Ganges? I hear it not, my ears are filled with the music of the mighty rivers,

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flowing into the sea scattering the message of the future. Brother delegates, let us live as the ancients lived in the purity of heart so that the message may be fulfilled; let us forget the narrow barriers of man's creation; let us be humble and forget the pride of self; let us step across the barriers of prejudice; let us always be with our hand on the plough, preparing the soil for the harvest of the future; let our heart-strings be attuned to God and country and then no power on earth can resist the realisation of that message, the fulfilment of the Destiny that is ours. And assembled in this tabernacle of the people, let us pray to Him, Who knoweth all hearts, to grant us grace and strength that we may deserve and bear this future and this destiny.—*From the Presidential Address to the Madras Congress, 1914.*

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The Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya*

It is necessary that we should make it clear what we want and what we do not want and how we propose to achieve it. In a consideration of that question the first thing which is important is to tell Lord Sydenham and those who may be of his way of thinking that we do not want what he says we do want. (Laughter). For instance, he says, "the Germans are making a determined effort for Eastern domination and the whole of the future of India is at stake. This is the moment selected by a small group of politicians whose total electorates number a few thousands in hundreds of millions—it is not the fault of the Members but of the Government—to advance claims of their party—mark you the words—to assume control of the Government of India."

A greater untruth never was uttered. We have not sought to assume control of the Government of India. We have sought that we should have an effective voice in the carrying on of the Government of India (hear, hear). I will make that clear to you. You have read the memorandum which was presented by the 19 elected members of the Supreme Council. I will not dwell upon that, because all the reforms which have been embodied in that memorandum have now been embodied in the resolutions of the Congress and the Moslem League, and the whole scheme of reforms is before the public. They have been elaborated in the joint scheme prepared by the

* From a Speech at Madras on January 31st, 1917.

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All-India Congress Committee and the Committee of the All-India Moslem League and accepted and adopted by the two great organisations at Lucknow, barely a month ago. Now you will see that we have taken care to say in the preamble of that resolution, "that having regard to the fact that the great communities of India are the inheritors of the ancient civilization and have shown great capacity for Government and administration and to the progress in education and public spirit, which we have made during the hundred years of British rule, and having regard to the fact that the present system of Government does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and has become unsuited to the existing conditions and requirements, the Congress is of opinion that the time has come when His Majesty the King-Emperor should be pleased to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer Self-Government in India at an early date." (Cheers.) Have we asked to assume control of the Government of India? In the next para the Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards Self-Government by grant of reforms. The scheme prepared by the Congress and the Moslem League is that definite steps should be taken towards Self-Government. That is neither Home Rule nor Self-Government on the lines of the Colonies or Dominions. Not only that, we have made it very clear in the details of the scheme that we are not asking for what may be described as Home Rule, namely, complete control of home affairs by our own people. We have asked for only steps

to be taken. What are the steps, the more important steps?

The first is that in all Executive Councils, Provincial and Imperial, half the number of Members should be Indians; the Viceroy will preside over the Councils. He will have the power to veto. He will be free to vote either with Indian Members or with English Members as he may like. Even if a proposition should be carried, he will have the power to veto the resolution. You know at present that the Government have recognised the wisdom, the justice of admitting Indians into the Executive Councils. We have now in the Imperial Council and every Provincial Council at least one Indian member. All that we urge is this. We think from experience, which our friends have gained, that the presence of one Indian member is a matter of very little importance. He is not able to present the Indian view as effectively as he would like to do, his friends against him on the other side often are numerous: therefore, we feel that if we have half the Council composed of Indians there will be a chance, but a bare chance, of knowing the Indian view and a question being accepted by the Executive Council. We do not propose any alteration in the constitution of the Government. We do not want any system which exists to be radically rooted out and something new to be placed instead. All that we urge is, that certain members of the Civil Service should be selected as members of the Executive Council and a certain number of Indians of ability, position and experience should be appointed to the Executive Council. It is the Executive Govern-

ment which deals executively with all matters that affect our welfare. Will anybody tell you that this is anything like wishing to assume control of the Government of India. (No, no.) What is the next important demand that we have made? Before I leave that subject, let me tell you that there is not the smallest justification for any sensible man to oppose this demand. People may agree or may not agree. The reform may come early or late. We hope and we mean that it should come early. Even if it should come late, there is nothing in the demand which would make any sensible man, who has any real concern for India and England, to be much upset by such a proposal. At present we know that there are several members of the Indian Civil Service who have distinguished themselves very much as very superior human beings. (Laughter.) We know that many of them do not render a very creditable account of themselves even when they have been appointed members of the Executive Council, and we feel that we could have in our midst a number of men not less capable, not less qualified and not less experienced, to advise the Government particularly where an Indian point of view is concerned.

What is the next important proposal in our scheme of reforms? It is that the resolutions of the Legislative Council should be binding upon the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-General in Council, provided, however, that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to. If we put forward such

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a proposal, it is because that the experience of many years of the present Councils has convinced us of the necessity for such a proposal. We have moved resolution after resolution in the Imperial Council and, except when the Government has seen it fit to accept the resolution moved by us, every one of them has been rejected. We feel that this is an intolerable situation. We are certain we are not less interested and less honestly anxious for the welfare of our own country and countrymen, than our esteemed European friends of the Executive Council are. It is they who decide whether a resolution passed by the Legislative Council shall be accepted or shall not be accepted. If I may tell you in confidence, often it is not the Executive Government as a whole which decides it. If is often the secretary of the department or the member or both of them that decide whether a resolution shall be accepted or not. It does not go even to the Executive Council. Whatever decision is arrived at by the secretary and the members is accepted by the rest of the Executive Council. That is the state of affairs, and the result is, that our most earnest endeavours to push forward the reform in domestic matters in various ways are frustrated. We feel that the time has come that in matters which affect our domestic progress, the voice of the representatives of the people should have greater weight than the voice of those who are permanent officials in administration. We feel that there is a greater chance of progress being achieved if such a reform is carried out. What is it that has led us to this

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experience? For instance, we want to promote education. Our late lamented brother Mr. Gokhale (cheers) made a noble endeavour to introduce a Bill, which was to permit the local bodies to make education compulsory in certain areas under certain conditions. It was defeated and notwithstanding all the promises which the Government made then and have repeated since, elementary education has not very much more advanced than it was at that time. We feel that the progress that is necesary in the direction of elementary education will not be achieved unless we obtain a real voice in determining the policy and the work of the Government. That is only one illustration. I could give you a dozen. The resolutions of the Congress during the last thirty years, every single resolution, would furnish one, if not more instances, in support of this proposal. There is the question of indentured labour. You had a great meeting yesterday in your own city. We have been crying for several years that indentured labour should be abolished. We have not yet succeeded. Government have accepted the resolution recommending that indentured labour should be abolished. But the abolition has not yet come. I do not know how much longer we have to wait before it will come to pass. If the representatives of the people had real and effective voice in the administration of the country's affairs, this hateful system, this abominable system of indentured labour would have been put an end to many many years ago. Take again the question of the separation of the judicial and executive functions. Thirty-one long years stand behind

it in support of it, and yet it seems to be as far as ever. We do not know whether, unless the present system of Government is radically changed, this proposition has any chance of being carried out. I say that in sadness. It is no pleasure to me to be arraigning Government by giving you instances after instances where Government have failed to carry out the measures calculated, according to the judgment of the representatives of the people, to promote popular welfare. These instances are many. That is why we say that if the representatives of the people in the Legislative Council carry a proposition in favour of a certain measure of reform, it should be binding upon the Executive Government and it should be carried out. We do not want to assume control of the Government of India. We have provided that if, in the opinion of the Viceroy, it is not right that such a resolution should be given effect to at once, the Viceroy might veto it, but we again add, in order to make progress possible and for no other reason, we add, if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to. Let me explain to you the reason. Government wish that we should not impugn their motives, and the supporters of Government constantly tell us that we should not impute bad motives to Government. I entirely agree in that view. I only ask that these supporters of Government should also not impute motives to us. (Hear, hear.) We put forward such a Resolution in order to provide a safeguard against any measure being carried out and forced

upon the Executive, when the Executive Government feel doubtful about the propriety of carrying it out. We provide for a further consideration of the matter for one year, and we say that after knowing that the Government did not think it fit to veto the proposition, if the elected members of the Legislative Council, with the responsibilities that attaches to their position, still think it their duty in the interests of the country to again make that recommendation to the Government, the Government should recognize the wisdom, the justice and the expediency of yielding to their wishes. We feel that the interests of progress, and the best interests of Government, which are cemented up in the interests of the people, will be best served by the resolution which provides a check upon hasty measures being carried out or forced upon the Executive Government, and at the same time provides a safeguard against a good measure being vetoed permanently or for a long time by the Government. Does that look like a desire to assume control of the Government of India ?

I may say, gentlemen, that these are two most important propositions that we have put forward. I will add a third, which is also of a great importance and that is the power of the purse. Hitherto, a proposition to embody a paltry sum of a few thousand rupees had no chance of being carried by the members of the Legislative Council, unless the member in charge of the department or the Secretary, or both accepted the proposition. I have found it on my own personal experience; I will tell you what it was. Merely as a test proposition, merely in order to see whether it was

possible for us to carry a proposition against the Government and also in the hope that the Government might see the reasonableness of accepting the proposition, I moved a year ago that a sum of twelve thousand rupees should be transferred from one head and put under another head to provide for the promotion of indigenous industries. Will you believe it? The resolution was not accepted by Government. I pressed for a division; I was not going to give it up. A solid majority of Government officials voted against it, and the proposition was dead. A sum of Rs. 12,000 could not be transferred from one head to the other, because the member in charge was not convinced that it was right that it should be done—to do what?—to promote indigenous industries, not to create any mischief, not a greater mischief than the promotion of indigenous industries. This has been the fate of many resolutions. That in matters affecting our internal progress, we find from the experience of the last thirty years we are not able to influence the decision of the Executive Government to the extent that we think we should, and we find the progress has been very slow.

That gives you the pith of the reforms that the Congress and the Moslem League have put forward. I need not take you through the rest of them. But there is a very small provision to which I must claim your attention. It may be said if you get this power, what is left to Government. You will be supreme, it will be Home Rule, Self-Government in the fullest sense of the word. But we want to prepare for it. We want

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to take definite steps for it. We are not asking for it. It is for that reason I want to draw your attention to this important provision that the Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India, including the declaration of war, the making of peace and entering into treaties. Home Rule will mean the exercise of these powers, except perhaps that you are in alliance with another Government to make war and peace. We have deliberately excluded these points from the exercise of their power. Does that look like asking to assume the control of the Government of India. (No, no.) We leave the power of direction of military affairs to the Government. That should set at rest all craven fears of the power of people's representatives being exercised to the detriment of public interest. We say we shall not interfere with foreign and political relations. Our proposals, if accepted, would only affect the domestic matters in which the progress of the people is concerned. It will not affect the power of the Government. There are other powers reserved to the Governor-General —the power to veto. We ask that definite steps should be taken as steps towards Self-Government, and we have not asked for Self-Government. I wish we were in a position to ask for Self-Government to-day and regret we are not. We are not asking for it. Our critics should not criticise us on a wrong basis and on a wrong data and should not try to misrepresent us.

With regard to the financial proposals we ask

that all sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in the Budget, and the Budget shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council. I have indicated to you the limitations which we have placed. Financial proposals which affect military and other matters will not be affected. The reason is, that we find the Indian Civil Service contains many honourable men, and many generous hearted men, but it does not contain only honourable and generous hearted men, as will not take undue advantage of the situation in India. They have a dominating voice in the administration of India's affairs, and they have carried measures affecting their own powers and their own salaries which they should not have carried. I need only refer to the Exchange Compensation Allowance, a matter which nobody can justify and a thing which will stand for ever against the Civil Service of India. It has been possible, under the present system, for the Government to increase the expenditure in various ways, without going to the details of it, without the Council having an opportunity of discussing the details. We wish that such a thing should become impossible.

. . . . . .

I ask you to say whether these provisions are such that if they are carried out, they will transfer the control of the Government from the Government of India to the representatives of the people. I will not dwell upon the proposals relating to Provincial Councils. In regard to Provincial Councils, Lord Sydenham recognises that provincial autonomy

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should be given to India, which was promised in the despatch of the Government of India in 1911. I think with that admission from an authority so high as Lord Sydenham and so friendly to the cause of progress in India, we should leave that matter there. There are two other matters of importance which we have urged, and I wish to talk to you next about them.

The most important one is that relating to the military policy of the Government. We feel that a great slur is cast upon the loyalty of the people and great injury has been done to the manhood of our nation by the military policy of the Government. We have long urged that commissions in the army should be opened to Indians as they are open to our other fellow-subjects in the Empire. We have long urged that Indians should be permitted to raise volunteer corps as Europeans are permitted to, that the Arms Act should be modified, and now we urge that it should be repealed. You know that the war terrible in itself has made us look at things in a very different way from what we used to do. . . . The war has changed us. We recognise dangers ahead, and we feel that if there is no change in the military policy of the Government, not only is a great injury done to India but also a great danger to the Empire. Sir Norman Lockyer has been urging that it should be part of education of every youth that he should be given military training. In most of the countries of the West and in some of those countries which have made worst use of that, at present conscription has been the rule. Military training and discipline

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have been forced and are compulsory. It is being recognised slowly and painfully even in England that conscription cannot be avoided, and it is also being talked in India that there should be conscription for Europeans. (Laughter.) The situation has become too serious. We have been complaining that the present Arms Act and our exclusion from the ranks of the Army is a great hardship and a great injury to us. Is that going to be perpetrated after these terrible lessons of this great war? We hope not. We trust not. We wish the Government to understand and to realise that we feel that it is an injury not only to us but an injury also to the Government. You know what response India has made during the present war. Several lakhs of our people have shed their blood in the cause of the Empire. Several lakhs of people have fought in various theatres of the war in France and in far-off countries under His Majesty's flag and have fought shoulder to shoulder with their fellow-men and fellow-subjects. They have proved by their blood that they are as loyal as any other people on the face of the earth. (Hear, hear.) Are they to be permanently kept under the existing galling, insulting, humiliating restrictions. Are they to be told that after their efforts to serve His Majesty's Government, they should expect no reward, as such efforts should be expected from a loyal people. I hope not. We feel glad and proud that India has contributed something of strength in men and money to the Empire at this hour of trial. If the Arms Act had not been in existence and if the people had been trusted as they should be, there

would have been a tremendously large army raised to support the King-Emperor in the present crisis, and we feel that for the future if there is any danger, Indians should be prepared, trained, instructed and qualified to defend their hearths and homes and defend the Empire. It is a very sad policy, a bad policy, a mistaken policy, and a policy of shortsightedness not to qualify the population, a population so vast as ours, by giving them a military training. I do not wish to cause any hurt not only to my fellow-men but to any fellow being, however humble he may be. It is not in the power of any man, or any scientist in the world, to create a creature. And it is not given to a man to destroy a creature. Men ought to shrink from doing it. All war is wicked and all war is abomination. We might hope that a day will come when wars will be altogether prevented. But while things go on as they do, while it is possible for brutal force to overpower weaker people, to oppress them, to tyrannise over them, to deprive them of their liberties, of their natural freedom and of their natural advantage which Providence has gifted them with, it is necessary that in the cause of self-defence, in order that people may exercise the right of self-defence, the manhood of every nation should be trained in the best possible manner when such a crisis as this has arisen. When you find might endeavouring to trample over right, it should be the proud privilege of man, to whatever nation he might belong, that he should plunge himself into the war and fight on the side of righteousness as Lord Krishna fought in the

days of old, as Pandavas fought in the cause of righteousness. It thus becomes a Dharma to fight, and we wish that we should be trained to qualify ourselves to exercise our Dharma whenever occasions like that unfortunately arise. We, therefore, urge and pray that Government should modify the Arms Act or repeal it and introduce a rule here such as obtains in England; where by paying license as a matter of revenue, any decent man is entitled to carry a gun or to carry arms. We also pray we should be allowed to form voluntary corps.* As matters stand, you have heard dacoits going about and oppressing poor men in out-of-the-way places. These fellows take advantage of the fact that people have not arms and do not hesitate to use them and cause injury, while good peaceful citizens, who do not wish to inflict any injury, find it very hard to obtain license to carry arms and to use them. This is not a state of things which is good either for the people or for the Government. We also ask that commissions in the army should be thrown open to the Indians.

Every sensible man recognises that a foreign rule is not in itself a natural thing. It cannot be acceptable except that it should make for the good of the people for whom it exists, and our Government and the representatives of the English people should recognise that. British statesmen from the earlier days up to now have spoken in

* Since this speech was delivered, H. E. the Viceroy announced in the Imperial Council, on February 8, that Indians shall be enlisted as Volunteers.

the same trend. Even Lord Sydenham speaks today of holding India in trust, and even Mr. Lionel Curtis (cheers) speaks of the duty that is cast upon them, the more favoured nation, the self-governing nation, of training humbler people like us in self-government. We say that as foreign rule exists, it has to justify its existence. It ought to promote the welfare of the people. We have accepted foreign rule willingly from 1858, when the Proclamation of Her Majesty Queen Victoria was pronounced to their rejoicings. The beneficial points of that Proclamation made the people forget that it was a foreign Queen who was speaking to them. They felt it was their own sovereign who spoke to them. It was in that spirit of loyalty that they have always thought of Her Majesty and of Her successors. We feel, therefore, that our Government should do all that it can to improve the position of the children of the soil, and may I quote to you in support of this view a sentence from Lord Sydenham's article. "British rule in India can be justified only if, in maintenance of law and order and equal justice, it has directed and led the people always onward and upward bridging over the innumerable rifts which divide them." He and we are at one. We say that steps that are essential to Self-Government are to be taken. I am glad to say that Lord Sydenham recognises that commissions in the army should be thrown open to Indians. But unfortunately he restricts the privilege with limitations. He limited it to a very small number, whereas we desire that they should be open to every subject of His Majesty

under safeguards and conditions which are equally applied to all.

. . . . . .

We want our critics to understand that we have no selfish interest to serve. If they accuse us of selfishness, they also cannot plead to be absolutely free from selfishness. There are certain advantages which the people of every country must reap. Times have changed, conditions have changed, but our ancient civilisation is still living, a living reality. It is our legitimate desire that we should get higher and more honourable position than we have. There has been the effect of education. There have been the great time forces at work, forces which have brought to us the knowledge of what is going on all around, forces that tell us of the magnificent sacrifices which France has made; which England has made in the cause of liberty, freedom and righteousness; when we read stories of stirring words in which Englishmen exhort their fellow-countrymen to sacrifice life and treasure in order to win the liberties of small nations, we cannot understand why Englishman should find fault with Indians if they desire to have an effective voice in the administration of their own country's affairs. There is one duty imposed upon us all Indians as well as Europeans. The reforms that we advocate may not exactly be the things which are needed. I don't say we have produced a scheme of perfection. Perhaps our opponents are somewhat sure of the position that the time has not yet come for any great progress

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in the land. I would ask them to bear with us and to approach this question in a more serious mood, in a spirit of greater friendliness and brotherhood. If we are wrong, let them tell us where we are wrong, and we are willing to revise our views. If they do not care to do so, at any rate, let them listen to us and try to understand why we are asking for some reforms and then criticise us. We shall not be promoting the best interests of India and England if we find fault with each other without justification. Therefore, I appeal to all at this juncture that some serious reforms must be considered and introduced. We should understand each other and see what, under the circumstances of the case, is necessary or desirable. Lord Sydenham says, "I would give the English educated class fullest power of expression, which I believe they now possess (I would eliminate these words and I will agree with the rest); I would plead for co-operation in every measure taken for the public good and employ them in any position for which they show complete fitness." This is what we ask. We only want we should have an opportunity of co-operation in every measure taken for the public good by the Government.

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The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri

The demand of Indians to be allowed to govern themselves is countered by the assertion that they are unfit for so high a task. It is alleged that when the English Colonies were granted responsible Government, they had reached a higher standard of fitness than we have now attained. This is not historically true. The present prosperity and enterprise of the Dominions should be entirely forgotten when we try to picture the Colonies as they were in the forties and fifties of the last century. Fifty years of political and economic independence, as the example of Japan shows us, can make

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[The Hon Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, President of the Servants of India Society, deserves the warmest thanks of the country for having brought out, at an opportune moment, his remarkable brochure on "Self-Government for India under the British Flag," one of the ablest expositions of India's case for Self-Government. Following the example of his illustrious master, Mr. Sastri has stated all the objections that have been urged against India's demand and shown conclusively how unreal and unjust they are. To Britishers and Indians alike, the book must appeal as an honest and earnest attempt to plead the cause of India. It is hoped that these paragraphs selected from the book will give the reader an idea of the method and manner in which Mr. Sastri has tackled the great problem of the hour. We commend a careful study of the book to every true well-wisher of India.—Ed.]

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wonderful changes in the condition of a people. Let it also be remembered that fifty years of the modern time are really much longer than the like period in any former century. Canada was the first of British colonies to be made self-governing, and it is in Canada that British political institutions are believed to have shown their happiest results. Luckily, we possess in the report of Lord Durham a graphic and in general a faithful description of the condition of the colony and its people at the time when the concession of responsible government was made.

Canada was divided into two provinces, Lower and Upper Canada. In Lower Canada the population was 600,000, being divided into French 450,000 and English 150,000. Upper Canada had 400,000, mostly English. In both provinces there were representative institutions wholly elected with power of voting supplies and imposing taxes. But the Executive were appointed wholly by the Crown, and as they had control of certain revenues and other sources, were enabled to defy the legislature. The public offices were filled by men belonging to certain families, giving rise in Upper Canada to what was known under the odious name of the 'Family Compact.' There were bitter disputes arising out of the unjust way in which the Crown lands were distributed as well as what were known as the 'Clergy Reserves.' In Lower Canada the minority of the English practically monopolised political power and the public service, and the bulk of the trade was in their hands. The wrangles between the legislature and the Government were pro-

tracted and often led to violent recriminations. In Lower Canada the political differences were also racial differences, the French through their paper, *La Canadienne*, stirring up a distinctively national spirit. In both provinces alike the political discontent led to strong physical demonstrations, threats of annexation to the United States, the stoppage of supplies to Government, and strong representations to the authorities in Britain for the grant of responsible government. Matters came to a head when Papineau in the Lower Province, and Mackenzie in the Upper, raised the standard of revolt, but not in concert. The risings were speedily put down, the constitutions were suspended, and Lord Durham came out as Governor-General with almost plenary powers in 1838.

The report that he drew up, describing the condition of the country and making recommendations for its improvement, is considered to be one of the ablest State documents ever submitted to Parliament. Constitution-makers go to it for inspiration. Its perusal is a tonic to those whose faith in the healing and ennobling power of popular institutions is weak. The chief lesson it conveys to us in India is, that responsible government is a remedy and the only sure remedy for the evils arising from imperfect understanding between the government and the people. Existing defects in India are pointed to by opponents of progress as barring the way to a fuller measure of popular government. Whereas, if a second Lord Durham could now come out to report on Indian affairs, he would in all likelihood advocate the immediate

grant of responsible government *as a cure* for the ills of the body politic. . . . . .

Let us, as far as possible in his own words, give an idea of what Canada was like when he proposed his bold and startling reform. First as to education:

The continued negligence of the British Government left the mass of the people without any of the institutions, which would have elevated them in freedom and civilization. It has left them without the education and without the institutions of local self-government that would have assimilated their character and habits, in the easiest and best way, to those of the Empire. It is impossible to exaggerate the want of education among the inhabitants. No means of instruction have ever been provided for them, and they are almost and universally destitute of the qualifications even of reading and writing. A great proportion of the teachers could neither read nor write. . . . These ignorant teachers could convey no useful instruction to their pupils. These appointments were jobbed by the members among their political partisans; nor were the funds very honestly managed.

Public administration was in a sad way:

But if such is the bad organisation and imperfection of the system at the seat of Government, it may be easily believed that the remainder of the province enjoyed no very vigorous or complete administration. In fact, beyond the walls of Quebec all regular administration of the country appeared to cease; and there literally was hardly a single public officer of the civil Government, except in Montreal and Three Rivers, to whom any order could be directed.

One other extract should suffice under this head. It refers to the district of Gaspe:

About the administration of justice therein I could hardly obtain any information; indeed on one occasion it being necessary, for some particular purpose,

to ascertain the fact, inquiry was made at all the public offices in Quebec, whether or not there was any coroner for Gaspe. It was a long time before any information could be got on this point, and it was at last in some measure cleared up by the Accountant-General discovering an estimate for the salary of such an officer. The only positive information, therefore, that I can give respecting the present administration of justice in Gaspe is, that I received a petition from the inhabitants praying that the Act by which it is regulated might not be renewed.

The system of justice was most unsatisfactory, and juries had ceased to command confidence. Trade was backward, banking and other facilities were ill-organised, and internal communications were lacking in the remoter parts. As to municipal institutions, which are justly believed to be a good school of political education for the people, they were almost non-existent.

Lower Canada remains without municipal institutions of local-self-government, which are the foundations of Anglo-Saxon freedom and civilization. The inhabitants of Lower Canada were unhappily initiated into self-government at exactly the wrong end, and those who were not trusted with the management of a parish were enabled by their votes to influence the destinies of a State. In the rural districts habits of self-government were almost unknown, and education is so scantily diffused as to render it difficult to procure a sufficient number of persons competent to administer the functions that would be created by a general scheme of popular local control.

In fact, judged by every criterion applied in India, the French population of Quebec should have been pronounced to be utterly unfit even for representative institutions, let alone responsible government. Yet they are now amongst the most progressive and public-spirited people in the

British Empire and have produced statesmen like Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Here are two extracts, from which it will appear how unpromising the material seemed at the time of Lord Durham.

> But the French population of Lower Canada possesses neither such institutions (municipal) nor such a character (popular initiative). Accustomed to rely entirely on the Government, it has no power of doing anything for itself, much less of aiding the central authority. The institutions of France during the period of the colonization of Canada were, perhaps, more than those of any other European nation, calculated to repress the intelligence and freedom of the great mass of the people. These institutions followed the Canadian colonists across the Atlantic. The same central, ill-organised, unimproving and repressive despotism extended over him. Not merely was he allowed no voice in the government of his province or that of his rulers, but he was not even permitted to associate with his neighbours for the regulation of those municipal affairs which the central authority neglected under the pretence of managing. The priest continued to exercise over him his ancient influence. No general provision was made for education, and as its necessity was not appreciated, the colonist made no attempt to repair the negligence of his government. They made little advance beyond the first progress in comfort, which the bounty of the soil absolutely forced upon them; under the same institutions they remained the same uninstructed, inactive, unprogressive people.

More than all this was the natural enmity of the French and the English people, to which there is hardly a parallel in India. Sir James Craigh wrote:

> The line of distinction between us is completely drawn; friendship, cordiality are not to be found; even common intercourse scarcely exists.

Lord Durham:

I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single State. I found a struggle not of principles but of races. It is scarcely possible to conceive descendants of any of the great European nations more unlike each other in character and temperament, more totally separated from each other by language, laws, and modes of life or placed in circumstances more calculated to produce natural misunderstanding, jealousy or hatred.

To show how intense political animosity was even after many years of responsible government, the following incident will suffice: In 1849, a bill was passed giving compensation to people who had suffered losses for no fault of theirs during the preceding rebellion. Lord Elgin, then Governor-General, gave his assent to it. The Tory Opposition, consisting mostly of English, raised the cry, 'no pay to rebels' and "some of them in their anger even issued a manifesto in favour of annexation. The Parliament House at Montreal was burnt down, a great number of books and records destroyed, and Lord Elgin grossly insulted for having assented to the bill."

What Canada obtained after strenuous struggles the States of Australia got with comparative ease. In fact, the colonial policy of Great Britain had been liberalised and responsible government was considered a proper solution of the problem of colonial administration. Most statesmen of the time believed, and were glad to believe, that once liberated from the shackles of the Colonial Office, the colonies would, in course of time, declare themselves independent of England. In this, however, events have proved them utterly mistaken.

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The grant of responsible government, wherever it has been made, has only strengthened the bond between the suzerain power and the subordinate but autonomous governments—a lesson which may well be borne in mind by those prophets of evil who prognosticate that in India political generosity will be met with ingratitude.

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FITNESS.

In spite of the vicissitudes of fortune through which our country has passed, the great Dravidian, Aryan and Mahomedan civilizations are found in vigour, if not in their pristine purity. Each one of these civilizations has developed forms of government and systems of administration which have been productive of beneficent results to the people. Judged by modern standards, they might be pronounced to lack the elements of strength and thoroughness. Nor do they appear to have given rise to democratic or popular forms of organization of the kind that we are familiar with to-day. Self-government, then, in the sense of the power to develop an indigenous polity and find an indigenous agency to maintain it, has always been with us. It may have been overborne at times and not had free play, it may have degenerated under stress of adversity, it may have left the people weak, disorganised and helpless before external force; but it has always been there. The numerous Indian States carry on before our eyes the ancient traditions, transformed, it is true, in great measure and adapted to the special needs of the British

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pattern, but still kept alive by age-long aptitudes. In our own time, the work done in these territories by some diwans and administrators within the limitations to which they are subject can bear comparison with the great deeds of Western statesmen in British India.

Whenever opportunity has been afforded, Indians have shown that they can work modern institutions in the modern spirit. In the executive, no less than in the judicial department, officers of the Provincial Civil Service recruited by competition have proved themselves, man for man, the peers of their brethren in the Indian Civil Service. The Indians, who were first appointed to the Council of the Secretary of State for India, have elicited warm appreciation from no less a judge of men than Lord Morley. Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge have in turn borne generous testimony to the assistance they derived from the advice and co-operation of their Indian Ministers. The late Mr. Krishnaswamy Aiyar, of Madras, the first Indian on that side of the country to whom a statue was erected by public subscription in which Europeans and Indians joined, has been the recipient of posthumous tributes from his European colleagues, which are remarkable as much for the admiration which they convey as for the note of personal attachment which they strike. To Mr. Gokhale, who struck the imagination of the English people in many ways, was reserved the unique honour of discussing affairs of high international moment, albeit in an informal way, with the Government of South Africa. This difficult and delicate task he performed with such ability,

fairness and statesmanlike grasp of the issues involved that he earned the gratitude and admiration of all parties concerned.

Speaking on the proposal to appoint Indians to Executive Councils, Lord Morley said (1908):

We are not altogether without experience, because a year ago, or somewhat more, it was my good fortune to be able to appoint two Indian gentlemen to the Council of India sitting at the India office. Many apprehensions reached me as to what might happen. So far, at all events, those apprehensions have been utterly dissipated. The concord between the two Indian members of the Council and their colleagues has been unbroken, their work has been excellent, and you will readily believe me when I say that the advantage to me of being able to ask one of these two gentlemen to come and tell me something about an Indian question from an Indian point of view, is enormous. I find in it a chance of getting the Indian angle of vision, and I feel sometimes as if I were actually in the streets of Calcutta.

Arguing for the appointment of Indians to Executive Councils, Lord Morely said (1909):

You make an Indian a Judge of the High Court, and Indians have even been acting Chief Justices. As to capacity, who can deny that they have distinguished themselves as administrators of Native States, where far more demand is made on their resources, intellectual and moral?

Mr. Charles Roberts, at a banquet given in honour of Sir K. G. Gupta in 1905, said:

When Sir Krishna first took his seat at the Council table, Lord Morely's innovation of appointing Indian gentlemen as members of the Council was still an experiment. It was not an experiment to-day. It was now an undoubted success, accepted as a matter of course. That Indians should be on the Council was not merely desirable. It was, he believed, indispensable for the right government of India.

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Speaking at the United Service Club at Simla in 1910, Lord Minto said :

Mr. Sinha is the first Indian colleague of the Viceroy. It is quite unnecessary for me to remind you of the great position his distinguished and exceptional abilities had obtained for him at the Calcutta bar, and, gentlemen, I cannot let this opportunity pass without bearing testimony to the able assistance he has rendered to the Government of India and thanking him for the absolute fairness and broad-minded patriotism, which has always characterised the advice I have so often sought from him.

The *Pioneer* wrote thus of Sir S. P. Sinha when he resigned his seat on the Viceroy's Council :

That Mr. Sinha has performed his duties as part of the Government of India conscientiously, faithfully and with no small measure of success, that his advice, loyally and straightforwardly given, has been of the utmost value to his colleagues, will readily be acknowledged by the whole official world of Simla, who will be the first to regret his severance from the inner Councils of the Government, while recognising the personal sacrifices Mr. Sinha has made in consenting to become the instrument whereby an important constitutional precedent has been established.

Sir Valentine Chirol wrote in the *Times :*

Mr. Sinha's resignation is much to be regretted in the public interest ; for his discharge of the duties attaching to his post has gone far to reconcile those who, like myself, had misgivings as to the wisdom of calling any Indian into the Viceroy's Executive Council, and chiefly on the very grounds which have been erroneously suggested as an explanation of Mr. Sinha's resignation.

Lord Hardinge paid the following tributes of praise to Sir Syed Ali Imam :—

As for Sir Ali Imam, I can only speak of him as a colleague imbued with the highest sense of duty, partiotism and loyalty. Not only by his actual service as head of the legislative department, but also by his constant

helpfulness, and loyal but straightforward advice, he has been of the utmost advantage and assistance to me and my Government. Now that he will be retiring into private life, I wish him all success and happiness. To me personally he has constantly given the most helpful advice, and I think our colleagues will all bear witness to the great assistance he has rendered to the Council over many difficult and knotty problems. And remember that we have been through no ordinary times. The stress of war has brought anxieties in its turn, to which our predecessors were strangers, and through them all it has been to us of the utmost benefit to know from a distinguished Indian at first-hand how the varying aspects of our different problems would strike the mind of various sections of educated India. As a member of my Council, I repeat, the presence of Sir Ali Imam has been an asset of the utmost value, and it was a source of unmitigated satisfaction to me the other day to pay him the greatest compliment at my disposal by appointing him Vice-President of my Council. His tenure of office has coincided, too, with a great deal of difficult and important work in his own particular department, and our war legislation has attained to a volume of quite respectable dimensions. Many questions of great technique and difficulty have had to be solved, and it is not only the actual legislation that has been placed upon the statute-book, but a tremendous variety of problems, in which the other departments of the Government have found themselves involved, that have required the help and guidance of the Legislative Department under the auspices of Sir Ali Imam for their solution. . . . . .

In the Legislative Councils the people's representatives have conducted themselves with moderation and self-restraint, and although they have chafed at the restrictions placed upon their activity and usefulness, their resentment has on no occasion broken out in any of those disorderly or violent forms which disfigure the annals of the egislatures of England and of the Dominions.

Lord Hardinge has more than once borne high testimony to their work. Their criticism and advice have not been without effect on the policy and administration of the country. But so high is the expectation which the public entertain nowadays of the Legislative Councils, and so keen is their sense of the impotence of their representatives from a constitutional point of view, that nothing can satisfy them hereafter short of the power of regulating the policy, disposing of the finances and controlling the executive. Said Lord Hardinge:

> I think I may say with some pride and satisfaction that the debates that have taken place have reached a far higher standard of statesmanship and efficiency than has ever been previously attained. They have taken place with a self-restraint and a mutual courtesy and good followship that might well be a model to all legislative bodies. I think I can say from experience gained in different parts of the world that this Council is second to none in the dignity of its proceedings and the good feeling that animates its members.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

As regards municipalities and local boards, our record has been distinctly good. It was, perhaps, lucky that we began our career in local self-government with a large measure of control vested in the central government, for we have been saved from those depths of inefficiency and corruption into which the possession of unrestrained power seems to have thrown similar bodies in Great Britain. But the continuance of minute control and supervision, long after the years of probation have passed, is a serious check on the

growth of self-governing bodies, and it is now fully recognised by Government that they should be released from leading strings, entrusted with more powers and endowed with greater financial resources.

BUT THE MASSES ?

Thus far we have endeavoured to show that there is a sufficiency of talent and public spirit to fill all the positions of trust and responsibility in the country and to work all the associations and institutions which conduce to the common welfare. There are some who will readily grant the truth of this proposition, but will say that it is the ignorant and helpless condition of the masses that bars the way to progress. It is true that millions of our people are without the rudiments of education, that they are poor and that politically they are without any experience. But is there any country in the world having a large population where the masses, though literate, are in a position to exercise their franchise with discrimination ? Are they able to follow discussions of public questions intelligently, weigh the pros and cons and come to a decision ? Do they make their choice between the competing candidates on their merits ? Are they not swayed by prejudice, liable to influence and misled by wire-pullers ? Says Lord Bryce :—

Though it is usually assumed in platform speeches that the audience addressed are citizens of this attractive type, everybody knows that in all communities, not only in Chicago but even in Liverpool, let us say, or in Lyons, or in Leipzig, a large proportion of the voters

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are so indifferent or so ignorant that it is necessary to rouse them, to drill them, to bring them up to vote.

It is not true that in any country, which is now self-governing, the people obtained the franchise only after they had secured the blessings of universal education. After all, this objection does not proceed with grace from the members or representatives or apologists of the Indian Government. They have done little as yet towards making elementary education universal, and it is a double wrong to use the prevailing illiteracy as a reason for denying the people the privilege of choosing their own representatives to make the laws of the land. . . . . .

RACE.

Defeated on all these counts, the opponent of Indian progress may seek shelter under the argument of race, believing that, as it is an unchangeable factor, the disqualification imposed by it is irremovable. Mr. Curtis, for example, contends that the Asiatic races do not yet possess the faculty of self-government, excepting perhaps the Japanese—the "perhaps" is meant to prove the extreme caution of his thought and reluctance to make any exception. God made the Westerns to rule and the Easterns to obey. They are the Kshatriyas and Shudras respectively of creation. What is it but a revival of the caste system without its spiritual sanction? "Race" is one of those ideas, difficult to analyse and difficult to define, which have come down to us from the past, breeding contempt and hatred between peoples, and used as if it were a charter from

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heaven by those who have succeeded to warn off those who wish to succeed. Even Negroes and Pariahs, when carefully educated, are capable of assimilating the civilization of Europe and following any profession with credit. Stress of circumstances may compel a pleasure-loving people to take to arms in self-defence or seek their fortune in wild and hazardous occupations. A hardy and warlike people may become, through a long period of peace, tillers of the soil or votaries of learning. Scientists and historians may have erudite theories on race and racial characteristics, but the soul of man will revolt against the unblest doctrine, that one portion of mankind is for ever to rule and another portion of mankind is for ever to bend its neck to the yoke. Here are a few passages from thoughtful writers protesting against the eternity of this summary two-fold classification. Dr. Emil Reich, in his book called *Success Among Nations*, says:

Amongst many latter-day historians it has been the fashion to seek an explanation of national pre-eminence in race. This method certainly has the advantage of flattering national vanity, but it cannot claim any great scientific value, as the problems it deals with, though expressed in a different set of terms, are not brought any nearer solution. In nearly every instance the racial threads, from which a white nation is woven, are so inextricably intertwined that it would be quite impossible to determine, even with approximate exactitude, what is the predominant element. Let us, then, at once set aside the hypothesis of any peculiar virtue inherent in a particular shade of complexion or variety of blood, and seek for a far readier explanation of our facts in the physical conditions under which these nations lived and had their being. We shall then see why it is that the conquering race is so often compelled to bow to the

civilization of the vanquished and advance along their line of development. How often has this been the case in Egypt, Babylonia, and even China!

Again:

The most ingenious books have been written endeavouring to apply the theory of race to the explanation of the rise of intellect among nations. But the racial theory has been ridden to death. After a long struggle, it is now being eventually abandoned by its most fanatical adherents in the ranks of modern historians. But the average man still pins his faith to it. The ordinary Englishman still attributes, and will continue to attribute, the success of his nation to the predominance of the Anglo-Saxon stock; there is something extremely flattering to national pride in the notion. It also permits of a rapid and complete annihilation of the so-called Latin races. The Frenchman is also fired by a kindred admiration of all that has issued from the Gallo-Roman blood, a theory which also allows of the equally rapid and complete disposal of all that is Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon. We have already shown how absolutely impossible and inapplicable such theories are in the scientific study of history. Race is quite impossible of identification, and where we can to some extent follow out the lines of ethnographical demarcation, it does not in any degree correspond with the National frontier. We must seek for some more substantial basis on which to found our theories of the causes of intellectual growth. . . . . .

Sir Charles Bruce, in his paper on "The Modern Conscience in relation to the Treatment of Dependent Peoples and Communities," contributed to the same Congress, (the first Universal Races Congress) says:

In conclusion it is submitted that in the treatment of dependent peoples and communities the modern conscience rejects as a fallacy the claim of Western civilization to a monopoly of the capacity of self-government based on an indivisible inter-relation between European descent, Christianity, and the so-called white colour. It

recognises that, while this inter-relation has evolved a capacity for self-government in an appropriate environment, a similar capacity has been evolved by an inter-relation of other races, creeds and colours appropriate to other environments. It maintains, therefore, that the conflict between West and East must be adjusted on the same principle that has adjusted the conflicts of race and creed in the West, the principle of freedom interpreted as liberty of person and conscience and equality of opportunity for all, without distinction of race, creed, or colour, under a settled government. History, reason, and recent experience in Japan warn us that the adjustment must be made, not in the spirit of the popular refrain: East *is* East and West is West, but in the spirit of a nobler poetic formula:

"God's in the Occident,
God's in the Orient."

This is the spirit of the modern conscience in the treatment of dependent peoples and communities.

The theory of unfitness appears in another shape, not so uncompromising, but not less dangerous. The unfitness, say some critics, is not incurable; in course of time, under careful and benevolent political education, such as our slowly-broadening institutions afford, it is possible, though prophecy in such matters is proverbially foolish, that the people of India may become fit for self-rule. But that day is not yet. Wait, wait in patience. Then our mentors resort to metaphor. The way is long and weary, full of peril and adventure. Do you know how they toiled and travailed who went before you, what trials and tribulations they had to bear? Metaphor and proverb, fable and parable, history and epic, teach us a good deal; they give us warning and guidance. But they are not actual life, they cannot replace direct

experience either for individuals or communities. The best training is obtained when you grapple with your difficulties by yourself, the highest and most useful part of education is self-education. The people of India will become fit for self-rule only by practising self-rule. There is no other way for it. They must conceive their aims and ideals, they must lay their plans and execute them, make mistakes and rectify them, incur losses and recoup them, encounter perils and overcome them. Mr. L. Curtis, in his book, *The Problem of the Commonwealth*, writes:

> In the first place, the exercise of responsibility tends to increase fitness for exercising it. As every one finds in his own experience, it is in having to do things that a man learns how to do them and develops a sense of duty in regard to them. And that is why political power is and ought to be extended to whole classes of citizens, even when their knowledge and sense of responsibility is still imperfectly developed.

True, this process should not begin too early; there must be a period of preliminary training. What is the period required? The answer is, till the necessary general, intellectual and moral equipment is acquired, till the necessary political experience has been gained. Our contention is, that we have this necessary equipment and experience. In so far as such comparison is possible, we cannot see that India is less fitted to-day than the Philippines for self-rule, nor that her general condition is much behind the condition of Canada or the other Dominions when they had the gift of responsible government, and we go further and say that England and Japan appear to have had nearly as many shortcomings

as India now has when they adopted a fully popular constitution. The Emperor of Japan took the great Charter oath in 1869; in 1881, he promised to grant a constitution in ten years and, in 1890, the first Imperial Diet was summoned. The Filipinos have had less than twenty years schooling in civilized administration. Are Indians so much worse than the Filipinos, or is the school of British political institutions so much slower than that of American political institutions that it takes a century, and how much longer one cannot say, to complete the process of education in the one case which in the other is completed in twenty years? The first Legislative Council met in Canada in 1792. In fifty years full responsible government was granted. In New South Wales the first Parliament met in 1843. The first responsible ministry took office in 1856. Indians were first admitted to the Legislative Council in 1861, though it had been in existence for many years. It is not generally known, but it is a remarkable fact that, during this first period, when Europeans enjoyed the exclusive right of legislation for India, they conducted business in regular parliamentary style, with their own standing orders, calling the Acts of the Executive in question and carrying on debates which, in their range and breezy freedom, contrast markedly with the prudish and correct respectability of present-day proceedings. Beginning in 1861 on a scale which was caution itself, the non-official Indians admitted to the Council being few and nominated, and the Council itself never meeting except when

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there was a legislative measure to be placed before it, we did not take a second step till more than thirty years had passed. In 1892, after a good deal of popular agitation, the number of non-officials was increased slightly, they were still nominated in form, but practically elected by delegates of local bodies, a limited power of interpellation was given them, and the annual budget was placed before them for discussion, but it was not to be voted upon. Seventeen years passed and strong agitation had to be made before the third step was taken in 1909. This time local legislatures were to have non-official majorities, members in the Councils could put supplementary questions and move resolutions on subjects of public interest, subject however to too many exceptions and to the further proviso that, even if accepted by the Council, they were not to be binding on the Executive. Those reforms were introduced with a great fanfare of liberal sentiment, and generally hailed by the people as a substantial improvement. But the seven years that have passed since have been marked by an enormous advance of political thought and political ambition in the people, and the Councils are spoken of by the advanced school as glorified debating clubs. In fact, the executive government is still practically master of the situation and carries measures in the teeth of public opposition. After fifty-five years people's representatives have still nothing like constitutional power in the land. Surely our progress is none too hurried. The foundations have had ample time to settle down and can now carry the

full weight of the structure of self-government. . . . . .

The next objection to be noticed is that, if the scheme came into operation, it would establish the reign of the few who are educated over the many who are uneducated, we should have an oligarchy of a few hundred thousands controlling the destinies of vast millions. You reply that, taking numbers only into consideration, the change will be a big step towards popular government, as the present ruling class does not exceed a few thousands. "But we have knowledge," say they, "of rural life and of the dumb millions, which you, educated gentry dwelling in towns, cannot and do not care to acquire." "It is not so," we rejoin; "the gulf of antipathy and contempt between educated and uneducated is a fable by which you deceive yourselves. The educated come mostly from villages and keep in constant touch with village life. In fact, the most notorious evil of the present administration is, that it is run by people who come from over the sea, never learn the vernaculars sufficiently well for ordinary conversation and depend throughout their service on interpreters. Besides, they maintain an attitude of proud exclusiveness which differs in kind and manner of display from the ancient arrogance of the Brahman, but is a far more effectual barrier to sympathy and mutual trust; in fact, it is now an article of creed with them that India and Indians are unfathomable mysteries and that, the longer one remains in the country, the more convinced one becomes of the impossibility of ever understanding its people and their nature and

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modes of thought and life." "But the lower classes look to us for protection, they remember the old misrule and tyranny from which we rescued them, and will not consent to the transfer of power from us to you, their social oppressors for ages." "Our history, like the history of other peoples, shows periods of good rule and bad rule of social well-being and social misery, of progress and decay. When you came, you found us in one of our unfortunate phases, disorder and the breaking up of an empire met your eyes and helped the establishment of your dominion. The oppression of the lower by the upper classes is nothing peculiar to the East. Before the dawn of the modern humanitarian age, the annals of Europe were disfigured by similar abuses and tyranny. Plato long ago said that in every city there were two cities, that of the rich and that of the poor. To-day, even in the most liberally governed countries, the peasants and the labourers may be heard to denounce the learned folly and the selfishness of those that make the laws and work them for their own benefit, while all the time professing to help and relieve the masses. Ideas of social amelioration and service and higher standards of government have been learned by the educated men in India, and as they have incomparably greater interest in the prosperity of the country and far more knowledge and sympathy to inspire their efforts, there is no danger of a revival of the old days of caste domination and heartless tyranny. The new oligarchy then will be at least as good as the present." One doubts whether this ancient fiction about

the protection of the masses is believed any more even by those in whose interest it is kept alive. Is it the indigenous Short or the oversea Codlin who opposes the spread of education among the people and uses their illiteracy as an argument for opposing political advance? Is it the indigenous Short or the oversea Codlin who defends the pernicious excise policy of the Government on the ground that every man must have his tastes, and likewise approves of the raising of the State demand on land at every resettlement on the ground among others that money left in the ryot's hands goes to the drink shop? Who allows the country to be flooded with cheap free trade goods and refuses to foster the industries of the people in the only way in which other countries, including Great Britain and her colonies, have fostered theirs? Who was responsible for the currency legislation of a few years ago, which, but for some fortuitous happenings which told in his favour, might have hit the poor agriculturist hard, while relieving the Government of the exchange difficulty in paying off the heavy Home Charges? Who at the same time gave the European services the exchange compensation allowance in cynical disregard of the taxpayer's interests? Who to-day, when extravagance is treason and luxuries of every kind are denounced as crimes, keeps up the exodus to the hills for half the year and sanctions extra allowances to Civilian Officers for promotion delayed, while at the same time cutting down expenditure on education? Who is going to defend the interests of the voiceless and voteless

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taxpayer, when in consequence of the report of the Public Services Commission, the organised and well-paid Services will drive the Government of India mad with all sorts of claims for increased emoluments? The unfortunate Indian Short, in a hopeless minority in the Council, must set up a piteous wail, which, however, will be drowned in the noise of Codlin's trumpet announcing to an astounded world his protection of the Indian masses against their own heartless countrymen.

. . . . . .

The last objection that we shall deal with in this section is, that the martial races, believing that the government of the land has passed into weak hands when it passed into Indian hands, will raise the standard of revolt and shake the new regime at the very start. In the first place, this cannot be true of either the Mahomedans, the Sikhs, or the Marathas, who have drunk deep from the fountain of patriotism. In the second place, when service in the army is thrown open to all who are physically fit and promotion is within the reach of all who are worthy, irrespective of race or colour, the distinction between martial and unmartial people will disappear in the course of a generation. But the real answer to this objection is, that it would apply only to a scheme which sought to take India out of the British Empire and completely eliminated the strong arm of the British from Indian affairs. Our critics may choose for their own alarmist purposes to misrepresent the effect of our proposals or the motive that underlies them. But, as a great man once said, "You may fool some of the people all the

time and all the people some of the time, but not all the people all the time." Our scheme has for its aim and purpose the continued maintenance of British supremacy in India and the reconciliation of her peoples to the suzerainty of the British Empire, which has done them incalculable good, giving them hope of a nationhood that they had lost or never possessed, and admitting them to a share of the noblest inheritance of modern civilization, *viz.*, democratic freedom.

The sentiment of devotion to the British Commonwealth conveyed in the following passage from Mr. Curtis, omitting the phrase which refers to the sense of kinship, will find a heartfelt echo in the bosoms of most political leaders of India :

> Their devotion to it, however consecrated by a sense of kinship, is finally rooted in the belief that the Commonwealth is the greatest institution in the world for enabling men to realize the duty of governing themselves. It is mainly because they know that it stands for the cause of self-government, and that with its destruction that cause would languish, that they find themselves ready to devote their lives and their wealth to keep it inviolable.

The scheme provides for the Viceroy and the heads of Provincial Governments being appointed by the Crown direct. Half the members of the Executive Councils will, under it, be Europeans, and the Indian Civil Service will continue for many years yet to have a preponderant British element. The case will be nearly the same with the police. The bulk of the commercial interests will also be in European hands. Above all, the entire control of the Military is, of purpose to afford the necessary guarantee, vested in the

Viceroy's hands. It is difficult to see what there is in these conditions to make the martial races believe that the pressure that keeps them down is removed, and they can work their lawless will on the defenceless people. The educated Indian knows better than to grasp the reins of power if he thought that he could hold them only for a brief day.

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APPENDIX I.

INDIANS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICES*

I. The Hon. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim

Judge, High Court of Judicature, Madras.

INDIANS' FITNESS FOR HIGHER APPOINTMENTS.

As for the allegation that the Indians are wanting in initiative, driving power, resource, and the faculty of control, so far as it depends upon *a priori* assumptions, it could not affect our deliberations. The facts relating to the services inquired into, however, show that so far the Indians have been mostly employed in the lower ranks of the administrative services. If they have not found their way to the higher appointments in the administration above those included in the cadres of the provincial services, it is because these appointments have been reserved for officers recruited in Europe into the Imperial Services. In the Imperial Services the number of Indians has been so few that they cannot be said to have been given anything like opportunity for competing in this respect with Europeans. This is clearly made out by the interesting facts elicited by Mr. Gokhale from an English Indian Civil Service witness in Bengal. There are, however, other facts from which a clear inference can be drawn, the reverse of this allegation.

Looking back to past history, India, until the disruption of the Mogul empire, always produced men of high administrative talents, and at the present day in the more advanced Native States, wherever opportunity exists, Indians are successfully bearing the burden of the entire administration; some of them achieved notable distinction, such as Sir Salar Jung and Sir T. Madhava Rao. It should also be noted that a fair proportion of these men were originally in the British Indian service but

* Extract from the Minute of Dissent in the Report of the Public Services Commission.

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only found an adequate opportunity for a full play of administrative capacity when they were appointed either as ministers or heads of departments in these States. Then where there are large Indian commercial communities, such as in the Bombay Presidency, Indians successfully conduct the affairs of industrial concerns of considerable magnitude.

In professions where success is dominated by free competition and the value of work accomplished is judged under conditions different from what prevails in an Indian official department, the merits of the Indians work cannot be gainsaid. In the profession of law which, it must be observed, was wholly unknown to the Hindu and Muhammadan systems and is, of all institutions, peculiarly Occidental, Indians have acquired such a remarkable proficiency that if is now conceded to them as being particularly suited to their aptitudes. In western medicine, in the practice of which they suffer from many disadvantages as I shall have to point out, their success has been equally remarkable. Not only is the general level of efficiency of Indian qualified practitioners highly satisfactory, but some of them in the more advanced Presidencies have achieved eminent distinction as surgeons, doctors, and gynæcologists, and a few men have also done research work of value with such facilities as were within their reach. Of those who devoted themselves to politics it would not be difficult to mention the names of a number of men of commanding gifts of political judgment and foresight and of platform oratory, debate and organisation. In the region of scientific research of the higher order, at least two names may be mentioned, those of J. C. Bose and P. C. Ray who have won more than an Indian reputation, while the Nobel prize of literature was awarded the year before last to Rabindra Nath Tagore, whose poems have become familiar to most cultured men and women of Europe and America. Then to everyone who knows India will occur the names of those men who organised momentous movements of social, religious, educational and political reforms that have so largely changed the outlook of India. Under Lord Morley's scheme of reforms, Indians have been found fit for ap-

pointment in the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of the Council of the Secretary of State for India. While on the benches of the High Courts, Indians have long established their reputation. An Indian sits on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In the face of these facts, it is hard to believe that India is deficient in wealth of intellect or character.

THE NECESSITY FOR RECRUITMENT IN INDIA.

Then the question of employment in the public service of India has to be considered in its important aspect of affording an adequate career to the educated Indians wishing to serve their country. In this connection it will not be inappropriate to take a bird's-eye view of the field of recruitment in England for Indian public services. The evidence shows what was naturally to be expected that under normal conditions an Indian career does not rank at all high in the estimation of English youths of more than average capacity and ambition. Such men prefer one of the many careers open to them in England, the army, the navy, the diplomatic service, the church and the law, journalism, literature, education, business and the home Civil Service. It has also been brought to our notice that the increasing activities of social life in manifold directions have, in England, so augmented the demand for educated men that only a very limited number of young men of superior calibre are available for foreign employment, and to this small number, service in self-governing colonies seems to appeal more strongly than service in India. There can be no doubt that the offers which Indian services ordinarily get proceed mostly from candidates of average attainments and rather limited outlook, more or less obliged by circumstances to seek for a living in a land which otherwise does not evoke much enthusiasm in their breasts. I am not inclined to depreciate the many good qualities of such men, and have no doubt that they prove quite equal to the daily duties of official business. But we cannot look with confidence to recruits of this type as a body to supply the higher order of administrative talent, which alone can enable a foreigner to understand the real forces at work in the very complex conditions of modern India and to guide them with sympathy. I have no hesitation in

recording my opinion that the country in its present circumstances cannot safely or fairly be called upon to accommodate more than a very limited number of English officials of this class.

On the other hand, as was to be expected, the Indian field of recruitment has been steadily expanding. The response of India to the demands of modern ideals of civic life has for some time been growing rapidly emphatic, not only among the Hindus and Parsis, but among the Muhammadans, the Sikhs and in other communities. Western education is spreading in all parts of India and amongst all classes, in castes and families whose hereditary occupations have been of a purely intellectual or literary character, amongst those whose ancestors carried on the military, civil and revenue administration of the country under the Mogul emperors and also among growing sections of the commercial and industrial communities. The educational institutions of India, from the most primitive primary schools known as muktabs and pathsalas to the universities and colleges, are literally full to overflowing. If they were multiplied five-fold, they would soon be filled. Indian students are also flocking to foreign countries; they are crowding, not only at the doors of British universities, but are spreading to America and Japan, and some also come to France, Germany and Switzerland. Leaving aside a fair proportion of inefficients, the number of those well qualified for a useful civic career has been growing larger day by day.

But, on the other hand, the careers open to an educated Indian are greviously limited. To him, whether he be a Sikh, a Pathan, a descendant of the Moguls or a Rajput, the commissioned ranks of the army and the navy still remain closed. Literature, owing to the absence of a large reading public, affords very limited attractions as a career, except to the specially gifted journalism presents more difficulties than prizes, while the larger commercial and industrial enterprises mostly belong to foreigners whose reluctance to employ educated Indians, except in purely clerical work, has been specially brought home to us. Law possibly has had more than its fair share of recruits, and medicine the only other large independent

profession, though crowded in big cities like Calcutta and Bombay, can still accommodate a certain number, and so also teaching so far as it is a private enterprise. Indians cannot look for a career in any capacity in the colonies, nor for all practical purposes anywhere else outside their own country. The pressure therefore on the public service of India from the Indian side is so great that the question, as is well known, has assumed considerable political proportions. No doubt, the number of men that can be absorbed in such service must necessarily be small compared to the total educated force of the country; all that can reasonably be expected, and is asked for, is that the disabilities should be removed and the conditions of entry be such as to make the service freely accessible to honest effort and merit. For the rest other forces must be relied upon to open other avenues of employment.

In this connection I may notice that it has been urged before us that the first and foremost duty of the British Government in India is towards the vast masses of the people, and so long as the interests of peace and security are safeguarded and there is no demand from the general population for larger employment of Indian officials, the Government need not pay much heed to the cry of educated Indians. The sphere of duties here suggested for the Indian Government is so obviously primitive and reactionary that it hardly calls for an elaborate refutation. It was never anticipated that the duty of the Indian Government, as a civilised Government, would be fully discharged by merely keeping peace and order which is as much necessary for its own existence as for the well-being of the people. On the other hand, it has from the very commencement undertaken to uplift the general level of the people in their material, intellectual and moral conditions, to spread modern science and culture and to develop the instincts of enlightened citizenship affording at the same time ample and growing opportunities to qualified Indians to manage the affairs of their own country. The time seems to be ripe when a much freer and larger admission of Indians into the higher regions of administration has become necessary, if there is to be harmony between the Government and the re-awakened life of India. An

English official, in so far as he represents a high level of Western knowledge and training, has a sincere and earnest desire to help the cause of progress combined with an aptitude for adapting western methods to the changing conditions of an ancient Oriental country, and, above all, a determination to deal justly not merely between one Indian and another, but what is much more politically important and far more difficult between conflicting Indian and English claims which constantly crop up in various forms, has a very useful career in India, and will always be welcomed by competent Indian public opinion. A few such men would considerably strengthen the bonds between the Government and the people; on the other hand, an English official of a lower type or with lower ideals would at the present day be felt as an anachronism and prove a fruitful source of political friction. I would also point out the obvious fact that an English official is at best a bird of passage in India, his ties and cherished associations lie outside the country, he stands in need of frequent and prolonged absences from his work, leading to constant shiftings of official arrangements, his knowledge of the people, their wants and aspirations must always be more or less limited, and when he retires at the age varying between 40 and 55, all his training and ripe experience are entirely lost to the country. He is expensive to train, expensive to employ—two men, roughly speaking, being required to do one man's work—and is a dead loss to the country when he retires. Even supposing that he initially brings to his work some superior qualifications, still the balance of advantage must in the nature of things be heavily on the side of the Indian official. Further an efficient Indian administrator has a value to the country far greater than is to be measured by the actual output of his daily routine work. He becomes a centre of further growth.

THE DISABILITIES OF INDIANS.

The policy which I have endeavoured to keep in view in dealing with this question is that which has been repeatedly declared to the people of India in statutes of Parliament, in Proclamations of the Crown made on solemn occasions and in other public documents of im-

portance. To these declarations the people of India naturally attach the sanctity of pledges and no apology is, therefore, needed for citing the more important of them, although they may be well known. The statute of 1833 (13 & 14 Will. IV., cap. 85, s. lxxxvii), lays down that "no native of India nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said company." In the dispatch of 1834 (No. 44, dated 18th December 1834), the court of directors explained that "whatever other tests of qualification might be adopted, distinctions of race or religion should not be of the number," and in another part (paragraphs 105 and 107) of the same document, after protesting against the presumption on which the authorities in India used to act, namely, that the average amount of native qualifications could only rise to a certain limit, they addressed them in these earnest words, "To this rule it will be necessary that you should both in your acts and your language conform." In fact, their instructions required the Government of India to admit natives of India to places of trust as freely and extensively as their individual aptitudes justified. Then they proceeded to suggest practical measures by which this policy could be fully carried out: "In every view it is important that the indigenous people of India or those among them who by their habits, character, or position may be induced to aspire to office should, as far as possible, be qualified to meet the European competitors. Hence there arises a powerful argument for the promotion of every design tending to the improvement of the natives, whether by conferring on them the advantages of education or by diffusing among them the treasures of science, knowledge, and moral culture."

The words of the famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria, dated 1st November 1858, are equally clear and forcible: "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our said territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our subjects. . . . . And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to

offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge." In the last paragraph it is added: "It is our earnest desire to administer its Government for the benefit of all our subjects resident there. . . . . ." King Edward VII.'s proclamation of 1st November 1908, after endorsing the general policy enunciated in the proclamation of 1858 and stating that steps were being taken to give effect to it, adds: "Important classes among you, representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British rule, claim equality of citizenship and a greater share in the legislation and Government. The politic satisfaction of such a claim will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power." The principles of action here laid down are not carried out at present in the following respects. . . . . .

The points of view from which the majority of the Commissioners and myself have approached the question of employment of Indians are substantially different. The question they have asked themselves is, what are the means to be adopted for extending the employment of Indians (*see* paragraphs 35-36). But the proper standpoint, which alone in my opinion furnishes a satisfactory basis to work upon, is that the importation of officials from Europe should be limited to cases of clear necessity, and the question therefore to be asked is, in which services and to what extent should appointments be made from England. The suggestion involved in the majority's point of view is that special measures are necessary for finding employment for Indians in the administration, and that the practical question, therefore, is how many or how few posts are to be handed over to them. On the other hand, the view which, upon a review of the situation, has forced itself on my conviction, is that if Indians have not established a footing in the higher ranks of administration, it is not through their own fault; it is due to barriers of many sorts that have been raised in their way. It will be sufficient if the disabilities be removed and the doctrine of equal opportunity and fair dealing be established as a practical measure. No special protection or favour will be necessary if the need for protection is guarded against. It will appear from the tables

given in paragraph 34 of the majority report, that out of the existing 11,064 appointments on Rs. 200 a month and upwards, only 42 per cent. was held by Indians and Burmans of pure Asiatic descent on the 1st April 1913. Then, as we ascend higher up in the scale, the position grows much worse. Out of 4,984 posts carrying salaries of Rs. 500 a month and upwards, only 942, or 19 per cent.. were filled by them as against 4,042, or 81 per cent., occupied by Europeans or Anglo-Indians. When we reach the salaries of Rs. 800 a month and upwards, which, to a large extent, though not entirely, indicate the level of higher appointments of supervision and control—for there are some provincial appointments of a less important character which carry a salary of Rs. 800 and a few of Rs. 1,000—only 242, or 10 per cent., of the appointments were held by Indians as against 2,259, or 90 per cent., filled by Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Reference is made in paragraph 34 of the majority report to the progress made in this respect from 1887 to 1913. In the region of appointments carrying salaries of Rs. 200 and upwards, the percentage has risen from 34 to 42 since 1887, and in appointments of Rs. 500 and upwards from 12 to 19 per cent., and in those carrying a pay of Rs. 800 and upwards from 4 to 10 per cent. This during the space of a quarter of a century!

SIMULTANEOUS EXAMINATIONS.

This important question relating to the problem of giving Indian candidates an opportunity of competing on substantially equal terms with the English candidates for the Indian Civil Service is disposed of in paragraph 16 of annexure X. to the majority report. What is asked for is that the open competitive examination, which is now held solely in England, should be held simultaneously in England and in India on the same papers and conducted by the Civil Service Commissioners, the results being embodied in one common list. There is hardly any other demand in connection with the Indian public services to which Indian public opinion attaches so much importance; it has formed the subject of persistent agitation, and its refusal hitherto is cited as a glaring illustration of the wide divergence that still

exists between declarations of policy as made by British statesmen and their enforcement in actual practice by those immediately concerned with the Indian administration. The main object of the proposal is to remove the otherwise insurmountable handicap against Indian candidates which now artificially secures for British candidates a virtual monopoly of the most important and best paid civil appointments. It is based on the principle that appointments to public office in India must be settled on the test of qualifications and not on presumptions arising from race or place of birth. If the desire to secure what is mildly called a "British minimum," but which, in the contemplation of the majority of the Commissioners, really means 80 per cent. or more of these posts is to be given precedence over the test of qualifications, that can only be justified on *a priori* considerations of racial superiority. This, according to the Indian view, should be regarded as inadmissible. Their contention is that the test of an examination such as that conducted by the Civil Service Commissioners should be supreme, and the advantages which racial characteristics or training give to British candidates ought to, and will, in fact, find expression in the results of the examination. The English candidates have the advantage of the language and of a more efficient system of training and education: that ought to suffice—as all Indian witnesses think it will—to secure for such of them as are of average intellectual gifts a predominance in the service. Only those British candidates, whose mental powers are below the average, will fail in the competition. Any arrangements which would secure men of the latter class, far from ensuring the British character of the administration, would only do serious disservice to it as well as to the prestige of the British people.

It is suggested that the institution of simultaneous examinations in India will in some way or other retard the development of Indian education. The truth, however, is that it will considerably help such development. The history of western education in India amply justifies this belief. As regards the examination in its present form fitting the Indian university curri-

culum, there can be no real doubt about it, if one compares the subjects of study in the Indian University calendars with the syllabus of the Civil Service examination. The system of options provides ample room for the different subjects of liberal education. Similarly as regards the age, either 22-24 as at present, or 21-23 as I have proposed, will suit the periods of Indian university courses just as well as those of the British universities. Certain practical difficulties in the way of applying the simultaneous system in "totally different longitudes and on separate continents" are also vaguely hinted at. These in my opinion are more imaginary than real; the hours can be easily so adjusted as to enable some of the Civil Service Commissioners to conduct the examination here at the same time that the examination will be held in India, without giving any opportunity to persons feloniously inclined to telegraph the questions to England for the benefit of the candidates here or *vice versâ*.

As far back as 1860, an influential committee appointed by the Secretary of State for India to consider the subject of the employment of Indians in the Indian Civil Service reported in favour of adopting simultaneous examinations "as being the fairest and the most in accordance with the principles of the general competition for a common object." In June 1893, the question was raised in the House of Commons and a resolution was passed that all open competitive examinations held in England alone for appointments to the chief services of India should henceforth be held simultaneously in India and England. And yet the majority of the Commissioners would, at the present day, reject this obvious method of justice essentially on racial grounds, in the teeth of evidence which showed that in making this demand all the different communities of India (excepting, of course, the Europeans and the Anglo-Indians) and all the provinces were united and practically unanimous. His Highness the Agha Khan, in suporting the demand, said, "I am in favour of a simultaneous examination in England and India. I would give full effect to the House of Commons' resolution of June 1893, ... It will do away with any feeling of discontent that may exist at the idea that the Indian Civil Service has been

kept as a preserve for Englishmen and that the children of the soil are shut out from their proper and legitimate share in controlling the administration of the country." In my opinion, in the interests of both justice and political expediency, simultaneous examinations should be conceded for the Indian Civil Service proper.

II. The Hon. Mr. M. B. Chaubal, C.S.I.

Member, Bombay Executive Council.

GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE EXISTING PROBLEM.

The questions relating to the salary, leave, pension, and prospects in the services, are comparatively only of subsidiary importance. By far the most important part of the existing problem relates to the employment of Indians in the higher branches of the service. The lower branches of the service, and the subordinate services, have ever been and must continue to be mainly recruited from the natives of the country, partly because Europeans cannot afford to serve on the salaries generally attached to the posts in them. The question relating to their larger employment in the higher service requires, under the present political conditions of India, to be approached and looked at from a broad, far-reaching and statesmanlike point of view, and there are certain factors which must, under the present circumstances, be steadily kept in mind.

The too limited employment of Indians in the higher service is one of the main causes of the discontent and unrest which have recently become so marked among the educated classes, and about which so much has been heard and written. To understand the genesis of this unrest one must consider what young educated India is at the present day and how it has come to be what it is. Young men of the present generation do not and cannot appreciate the benefits of the British rule to the same degree as did the men of a past generation. The latter

contrasted the peace and security of life and property with the troublous times before the British rule, and felt happy and contented. The young man of the present day takes these great blessings as his birthright. When western education was started and schools, colleges and universities were established, the young Indian began to study eagerly the history and literature of free and advanced western countries and the biographies of great men, studied their careers and how they struggled for freedom and liberty; he studied the birth and growth of liberal institutions in western countries, and he began to contrast their state with his own helpless dependence. A vague discontent took possession of his mind, and a wild enthusiasm to break through his environment seized him. He fancied that his progress in every direction was hampered. Nearer home he saw how a small nation, comparatively recently quite as low as his own country in civilisation, rose to splendour and worked out its own salvation. These forces, which had been working silently, found expression in the annual National Congress, came to a head at the noted Surat Congress, and the school of anarchy, of which we now find exhibitions, had its origin in this discontent. The phenomenon of practically all the higher offices in the State being monopolised by the foreigner and the European, loomed large in the view of those young men, who formed originally the extremist school. A few wise and far-seeing men, like the late Mr. Gokhale, saw the trend of events, and were afraid of the pit into which young India was being led. To counterbalance this school they wisely placed before their educated countrymen the goal of a "Colonial Self-Government" and the privilege of the citizenship of the largest Empire in the world; and they declared that as they made themselves fit for it, they would draw nearer to this goal, until India took its proper place in the Empire as a self-governing colony. In the speeches in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, the restricted employment of Indians in the higher service was the frequent theme of attack on the lines on which the administration of the country was run. By their incessant efforts, they have now been able to persuade a very large body of young

educated Indians to adopt this ideal, and those who believe that that ideal is attainable by self-improvement and constitutional agitation from what is recognised as the *moderate* school in Indian politics. A wider and more liberal employment of highly educated and capable Indians in the higher posts under Government will, it is believed, in no small degree strengthen this party and correspondingly break through the strength of the other school.

Since last August, however, this earnest demand for a larger employment of qualified Indian agency in the higher service has received an added force. This unfortunate war into which the whole Empire has been launched, the response that India has made to the call of the Empire in its need, and the generous and appreciative terms in which responsible British administrators have spoken and are speaking of the loyal support from all classes and communities in India, have raised hopes and aspirations which, if not substantially satisfied, will result in disappointment and cause alarming discontent. Whatever may come after a successful termination of the war, the country is now in a ferment and is anxiously awaiting the final pronouncements of this Commission for some substantial indication of the "altered angle of vision" towards Indian problems.

The question, therefore, of the proportions in which indigenous agency is to be utilised in the near future in the higher service of the State is of vital importance. These proportions must be such as will cumulatively throughout the services help to create the feeling that we Indians are in a substantial degree carrying on the government of the country. At present the Indians are far and few; and every Indian officer, whether high or low, feels that he is not serving himself or his country, but is an individual hired to labour for somebody else. He can rarely put his whole heart into the work, because he is always conscious of the presence of his taskmaster and never works but with his eyes upon his superior officer and always thinking of what he will say of the work turned out by him. To dispel this feeling there must, in the higher service in all departments of the

administration, be present a large number of Indians, so that they may collectively feel that the responsibility for a strong and wise government of the people rests mainly on them. This consideration, indeed, appears to have been present to the mind of the last Commission, but I think it did not realise the extremely limited employment of the Indians in the services. They observe in their report, "As the progress of education excites in constantly increasing numbers of the natives of India an interest in their political condition, the knowledge that men of their own race and creed are freely associated with Englishmen in the government of the country will minimise any sense of subjection and enhance the sentiment of a common citizenship—a sentiment which is at once the interest of the Empire and the desire of her most eminent politicians to inspire and confirm." The evidence received by us in India during the last two years has left on my mind a painful impression that a much more sympathetic treatment by, and a far more liberal association with, Englishmen is required before that sense of subjection is appreciably reduced, and before the desired sentiment of a common citizenship is *created*, for at present it is indeed non-existent except perhaps in platform speeches. When, therefore, in this minute I am dissenting from the proportions allotted, in the report and annexures, to the Indians in the different services, I am doing so because I look at the question from this point of view, and I feel that the proportions recommended by the majority are insufficient and inadequate. I believe that what I claim for them in my minute would be the minimum likely to secure this end and would go far to satisfy the expectation and hope which have been raised. The whole country is even now grumbling at the fate of an innocent Bill, like the United Provinces Councils Bill, and is afraid that this is but an indication of what it may expect. At the same time I believe that the minimum claimed for each service in this minute is that which can, at the present time, be conceded to India, without any loss to the British spirit of administration and perhaps with some advantage in the efficiency of the different departments.

III. Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji

"Europeans occupy almost all the higher places in every department of Government directly or indirectly under its control. While in India they acquire India's money, experience, and wisdom; and when they go, they carry both away with them, leaving India so much poorer in material and moral wealth. Thus India is left without, and cannot have those elders in wisdom and experience who in every country are the natural guides of the rising generations in their national and social conduct, and of the destinies of their country; and a sad, sad loss this is!

Every European is isolated from the people around him. He is not their mental, moral, or social leader or companion. For any mental or moral influence or guidance or sympathy with the people, he might just as well be living in the moon. The people know not him, and he knows not, nor cares for, the people. Some honourable exceptions do, now and then, make an effort to do some good if they can, but in the very nature of things these efforts are always feeble, exotic, and of little permanent effect. These men are not always in the place, and their works die away, when they go.

The Europeans are not the natural leaders of the people. They do not belong to the people; they cannot enter their thoughts and feelings; they cannot join or sympathise with their joys or griefs. On the contrary, every day the estrangement is increasing. Europeans deliberately and openly widen it more and more. There may be very few social institutions started by Europeans in which Natives, however fit and desirous to join, are not deliberately and insultingly excluded. The Europeans are, and make themselves, strangers in every way. All they effectually do is to eat the substance of India, material and moral, while living there, and when they go, they carry away all they have acquired, and their pensions and future usefulness besides.

This most deplorable moral loss to India needs most serious consideration, as much in its political as in its national aspect. Nationally disastrous as it is, it carries politically with it its own Nemesis. Without

the guidance of elderly wisdom and experience of their own natural leaders, the education which the rising generations are now receiving is naturally leading them (or call it misleading them if you will) into directions which bode no good to the rulers, and which, instead of being the strength of the rulers, as it ought to be and can be, will turn out to be their great weakness. The fault will be of the rulers themselves for such a result. The power that is now being raised by the spread of education, though yet slow and small, is one that in time must, for weal or woe, exercise great influence; in fact, it has already begun to do so. However strangely the English rulers, forgetting their English manliness and moral courage, may, like the ostrich, shut their eyes, by gagging acts or otherwise, to the good or bad influences they are raising around them, this good or evil is rising nevertheless. The thousands that are being sent out by the universities every year find themselves in a most anomalous position. There is no place for them in their Motherland. They may beg in the streets or break stones on the roads for ought the rulers seem to care for their natural rights, position and duties in their own country. They may perish or do what they like or can, but scores of Europeans must go from this country to take up what belongs to them, and that in spite of every profession, for years and years past, and up to the present day, of English statesmen, that they must govern India for India's good, by solemn Acts and Declarations of Parliament, and, above all, by the words of the august Sovereign herself. For all practical purposes all these high promises have been hitherto almost wholly the purest romance, the reality being quite different.—*Memorandum submitted to the Secretary of State for India, 16th November*, 1880.

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IV. Gopal Krishna Gokhale

A kind of dwarfing or stunting of the Indian race is going on under the present system. We must live all the days of our life in an atmosphere of inferiority, and the tallest of us must bend, in order that the exigencies of the system may be satisfied. The upward impulse, if I may use such an expression, which every schoolboy at Eton or Harrow may feel, that he may one day be a Gladstone, a Nelson, or a Wellington and which may draw forth the best efforts of which he is capable, that is denied to us. The full height to which our manhood is capable of rising can never be reached by us under the present system. The moral elevation which every self-governing people feel cannot be felt by us. Our administrative and military talents must gradually disappear, owing to sheer disuse till at last our lot, as hewers of wood and drawers of water in our own country, is stereotyped. . . . . .

My Lord, this question of appointment to high office is to us something more than a mere question of careers. When all the positions of power and of official trust and responsibility are the virtual monopoly of a class, those who are outside that class are constantly weighed down with a sense of their own inferior position, and the tallest of them have no option but to bend in order that the exigencies of the situation may be satisfied. Such a state of things, as a temporary arrangement, may be accepted as inevitable. As a permanent arrangement, it is impossible. This question thus is to us a question of national prestige and self-respect, and we feel that our future growth is bound up with a proper solution of it. . . . . .

A succession of great statesmen, who in their day represented the highest thought and feeling of England, have declared that, in their opinion, England's greatest work in India is to associate the people of this country, slowly it may be, but steadily, with the work of their own Government. To the extent to which this work is accomplished, will England's claim to our gratitude and attachment be real.—*Budget Speech, Imperial Legislative Council*, 1905.

APPENDIX II

THE EDUCATED CLASSES AND THE MASSES

I. The Hon. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim

Judge, Madras High Court

In paragraph 18 of the majority report, allusion is made to the allegation that the western-educated Indians do not reflect the views or represent the interests of the many scores of millions in India. So far as the views of the latter on any of the matters in dispute, or of an allied character, are concerned, it is impossible to imagine what opinions they are in a position to form so long as they are allowed to remain, as at present, in their illiterate and appallingly ignorant condition. As for the representation of their interests, if the claim be that they are better represented by European officials than by educated Indian officials or non-officials, it is difficult to conceive how such a reckless claim has come to be urged. The inability of English officials to master the spoken languages of India and their different religions, habits of life and modes of thought so completely divide them from the general Indian population that only an extremely limited few possessed with extraordinary powers of intuitional insight have ever been able to surmount the barriers. As for the sacred books and classics of the Indian peoples, Hindu and Muhammadan whose study is indispensable to a foreigner wishing to understand the people's national genius, it would be difficult to name more than two or three Englishmen among the thousands that, during a period of more than 100 years of British connection with India, have been employed in the service of Government, whose attainments could be mentioned with a show of respect. Such knowledge of the people and of the classical

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literatures as passes current among the European officials is compiled almost entirely from the data furnished to them by the western-educated Indians; and the idea of the European officials having to deal with the people of India without the medium of the western-educated Indian is too wild for serious contemplation. It would be no exaggeration to say that without their co-operation the administration could not be carried on for a single day.

With the educated Indians, on the other hand, this knowledge is instinctive, and the ties of religion and custom, so strong in the east, inevitably make their knowledge and sympathy far more intimate than is to be seen in countries dominated by materialistic conceptions. It is from a wrong and deceptive perspective that we are asked to look at the system of castes among the Hindus more as a dividing force than as a powerful binding factor; and the unifying spirit of Islam, so far as it affects the Muhammadans, does not stand in need of being explained; while in all communities the new national movement has received considerable accession of impulse from the lessons of such arguments as are limited at in the majority report. The evidence is remarkably significant in this connection. His Highness the Agha Khan joined his weighty voice with that of the leaders of the Congress in demanding simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service, and the representatives of the Sikh Khalsa and the Pathans of the Punjab, the Moslem league along with the spokesmen of the communities more advanced in western education, were unanimous in entering their emphatic protest against the suggestion that the presence of Indians in the higher official ranks would be distasteful to the people themselves, and specially in a province or a community other than that of the Indian official.—*Extract from the Minute of Dissent in the Report of the Public Services Commission.* . . . .

I am afraid very few Englishmen properly realise the obvious fact that, without the help of Western-educated Indians, British administration in India could not be carried on for a day, or that these men supplied the moral force by which the influence of a bigoted

priesthood over the ignorant masses has been so greatly overcome. It is important that the English public should fully understand the significance of the unsolicited support given by educated Indians, who are the most influential leaders of the people of India.—*From a letter to the "London Times."*

II. The Hon. Mr. M. B. Chaubal, C.S.I.

Member, Bombay Executive Council.

In the first place, it may be pointed out that in relation to the public services under Government there is no such class as *eastern educated classes*, as distinguished or distinguishable from "the western educated classes." For such eastern education as exists now there is absolutely no scope for employment in any of the departments we have considered. If any Indians have to be employed in the higher service at all, they must be from the western educated classes, whether they *represent* the masses of the people or not. Assuming that they do not, the next step implied in the argument is that the ability or capacity to *represent* the masses must be present in anyone who claims to be entitled to enter the higher service under Government. Therefore, it is not desirable to employ a large number of these western educated classes in the higher service, and consequently it is impossible with safety and, in the interests of these masses, to narrow the field of employment for Europeans and Anglo-Indians in the higher posts under Government. To employ the educated Indian in larger numbers is, in the words of the late Sir Charles Crosthwaite, "to give a disproportionate degree of authority in the government of the masses and the aristocracy into the hands of a few thousand men whose heads have been turned by an education they have not assimilated."

If this argument is analysed one cannot help being struck with the assumption that this capacity to *represent* the masses is taken for granted in the Euro-

pean and the Anglo-Indian. It is difficult to understand exactly what is intended to be conveyed by the word "represent." If it implies a knowledge of the conditions of life of these masses, their habits, their ways of living and thinking, their wants and grievances, the ability to enter into their thoughts, and appreciate what is necessary to educate them, to give them higher ideas of life, and make them realise their duties towards all about them, there ought to be no doubt that the educated Indian has all these in a far higher degree than any European or Anglo-Indian can claim to have. The charge really is that the educated Indian has a class bias, a sort of clannishness, a tendency to favour his own caste or community in the discharge of his official duties which detract from his usefulness in the higher service, and, therefore, the presence of the European in large numbers is necessary to hold the scales evenly between these few educated thousands and the dumb and ignorant millions, who would otherwise be oppressed by them.

This is rather a shallow pretence—this attempt to take shelter behind the masses; and I think it only fair to state that the class of educated Indians, from which only the higher posts can be filled, is singularly free from this narrow-mindedness and class or caste bias; *e.g.*, no instances of complaint on this score as against any of the Indian members of the Indian Civil Service would be available, and I have no hesitation in endorsing the opinion of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, in his recent contribution on village life in his tour through Southern India, that the interests of the masses are likely to be far better understood and taken care of by the educated Indian than by the foreigner. As a matter of fact all the measures proposed for the regeneration of the lower and depressed classes have emanated from the educated Indians of the higher castes. The scheme for the free and compulsory education of these masses was proposed by an educated Indian of a high caste and supported mainly by the western educated classes. High-souled and self-sacrificing men are every day coming forward from this class to work whole-heartedly in improving the condition of the masses.

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Perhaps the truth, however unpalatable, is that there are still a number of the average English officials in India who have a distrust and suspicion about the educated Indian. The explanation of this is probably that given by Sir P. M. Mehta in his evidence—that the English official does not like the independence, the self-assertion and the self-respect which come naturally in the wake of education. As Dr. Wordsworth stated in his evidence before the last Commission, "deferential ignorance, conciliatory manners, and a plentiful absence of originality and independence are now, and will always be, at a premium." It is high time that this shibboleth was exploded. It is, indeed, hardly consistent that while on the one hand Government should foster and encourage the growth of opportunities for educated Indians for participation in public life, in the municipalities and district boards, and in the provincial and imperial legislative councils, they should, on the other, so jealously guard the entrance of educated indigenous agency into the higher and better remunerated posts in the State.—*Extract from the Minute of Dissent in the Report of the Public Services Commission.*

III. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I.

Ex-Member, Madras Executive Council
& Vice-Chancellor, Madras University

Of all the various classes in India, it is the educated class that is really best qualified to judge of the benefits of the British rule and the advantages of inclusion in the British Empire. The masses of the people, no doubt, appreciate the blessings of peace, security and even-handed justice, but the vast majority of them have no knowledge of history and of the disorders and misgovernment from which the country was saved by British rule. They have little knowledge of the Germans

or of their character or methods of administration, or of the comparative superiority of British administration to that of any other European nation. They are undoubtedly loyal, but their loyalty is of the passive type. The attitude of the villager is generally one of indifference to the remote abstraction of a monarch so long as his class customs and village institutions are untouched and is expressed in the saying, 'What matters it, if Rama reigns, or Ravana reigns.' This feeling is slowly and gradually being transformed into one of a little more interest in the affairs of the great world outside their villages and is largely due to the influence of the Press and those who can read. The expressions of loyalty and devotion to the British Raj that have been heard throughout the land have proceeded, not from the inarticulate masses, but from the literate classes and the thinking portion of the public. It is the same Press that in times of peace indulges in the most outspoken criticism of the Governmeut that now sets itself to the publication, reverberation and diffusion of sentiments of loyalty. It is one of the most gratifying features of the present situation that the conduct of the Indian Press in dealing with the war has, with a few stray exceptions here and there, been inspired by sincere and unquestionable loyalty. The voices that are heard in the Press and on the platform, in councils and associations, are the voices of the educated classes. They realize more clearly than the rest of their countrymen the gravity of the issues at stake and the menace to liberty, humanity and civilization implied in the ascendancy of German militarism. Keen as the most advanced political reformer may be about progress, he knows that it is impossible for him to achieve his political ideal of a United India governed on constitutional lines, except under the fostering care of the nation which has set the example of political freedom and ordered progress to the rest of the world. The educated Indian is the product of British rule, and he owes everything that distinguishes him from the mass of his countrymen to the boon of English education, which has broadened his mental outlook and imbued him with higher ideals and aspirations. His loyalty is not the merely instinctive

loyalty of the Briton at home or the Colonial, but the outcome of gratitude for benefits conferred and of the conviction that the progress of India is indissolubly bound up with the integrity and solidarity of the British Empire.—*Indian Review War Book.*

IV. The Hon. Sir P. D. Pattani

Ex-Dewan of Indore, and Member, Imperial Legislative Council

It is the duty of the educated classes in India to instil in the minds of the less educated, whose instinctive and traditional loyalty is in danger of being shaken in these days of educational progress and individualism, the true ideal of loyalty. They have done a great work in this direction. Those who freely criticised the administration in time of peace and called for further political development, have now raised their voices equally loudly in preaching the imperative need for co-operation with Government. They are actively engaged in the collection of funds for the relief of the suffering and distress caused by the war; in urging the avoidance of controversial topics for the present; and in maintaining themselves, and convincing the people, that India's connection with England is the only political condition conducive to the country's welfare, and that any help which India can give now is not only a contribution to the cause of right and justice, but like all such gifts, will tend to the permanent advantage of the country when accounts are adjusted at the close of this colossal struggle. They are, in brief, acting as the keepers of the nation's mind and conscience. They are cheerfully doing this from the conviction that, apart from the material interests associated with indissoluble tie which links India with England, their action is sanctioned by the laws of justice and humanity. Products of English education, they are maintaining in practice the moral principles which they imbibed with that education; these, united with the inborn ideals of Indian ethical truths, make their influence the more appreciable.—"*Indian Review War Book.*"

V. Gopal Krishna Gokhale

This attempt to distinguish between the interests of the educated classes and those of the bulk of their countrymen is a favourite devise of those who seek to repress the legitimate aspirations of our people. It is significant that Lord Curzon had never resorted to it till he had finally broken with the educated classes. We know, of course, that the distinction is unreal and ridiculous, and we know also that most of those who use it as a convenient means to disparage the educated classes cannot themselves really believe in it. Lord Curzon mentions the reduction of the salt duty, the writing off of famine arrears, the increased grants to primary education and to irrigation, the attempt at police reform as measures on which he bases his claim. The suggestion here is, that he adopted these measures for the good of the masses in spite of the opposition—at any rate, the indifference—of the educated classes, when the plain fact is, that it was the Congress that had been urging these measures year after year on the attention of the Government and that it was only after years of persistent agitation that it was able to move the Government in the desired direction. Four years ago, when, with a surplus of seven crores, or nearly five millions sterling in hand, the Government of India did not remit any taxation, and I ventured to complain of this in Council and to urge an immediate reduction of the salt duty, I will remember how Lord Curzon sneered at those who "talked glibly" of the burdens of the masses and of the necessity of lowering the salt tax as a measure of relief. . . . . —*Benares Congress Presidential Address*, 1905.

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VI. Sir. P. M. Mehta

As a general rule, the English official never learns a native language in a way to be able to carry on a decent conversation with the ryot whom he claims to know so intimately. The ryot's patois and his idiom and his humour are quite beyond him. I have myself had the pleasure of hearing attempts at conversation between English officials, revenue and judicial, and ryots and other natives. I will not describe my feelings on those occasions. I am sure I have succeeded in controlling them, thanks to my strict sense of decorum and propriety. But there are hundreds of stories all over the country-side of the humorous *contre-temps* that are the result of the Englishman's linguistic accomplishments. It is owing to this unfortunate drawback that the English official finds it beyond his power to get into the real mind of the rural native. It is perfectly true that for eight months of the year, he travels throughout his taluka, riding out in the morning for sport and business combined, a little shooting as well as a timely appointment about some village matter, and then a couple of hours of revenue and a couple of hours of magisterial work in his tent. Such a life could not but afford unrivalled opportunities for coming into contact with all sorts and conditions of men and getting an insight into their natures and characters. But, alas, the avenue through which alone such knowledge can mostly come is closed to him, and the English official moves among the natives, isolated even when not unsympathetic, ignorant even when not uninquisitive, a stranger and a foreigner to the end of the chapter. I can, therefore, truly say that it is I and my native colleagues who can claim to speak at first-hand and of our own personal and intuitive knowledge and experience of the feelings and thoughts of the ryot, his prejudices, his habits of thought, his ways of life, his ambitions and his aspirations. It is we who represent the real views of the agricultural masses, not the insular and isolated English official.—*Speech at the Bombay Legislative Council on the Land Revenue Bill, 23rd August* 1901.

VII. Lord Dufferin

Wide and broad, indeed, are the new fields in which the Government of India is called upon to labour, but no longer as aforetime need it labour alone. Within the period we are reviewing, education has done its work, and we are surrounded on all sides by Native gentlemen of great attainments and intelligence, from whose hearty, loyal, and honest co-operation we may hope to derive the greatest benefit. In fact, to an administration so peculiarly situated as ours, *their advice, assistance, and solidarity are essential to the successful exercise of its functions.* Nor do I regard with any other feelings than those of approval and goodwill their natural ambition to be more extensively associated with their English rulers in the administration of their own domestic affairs.—*From the Jubilee Speech in* 1887.

VIII. Lord Hartington

It is not wise to educate the people of India, to introduce among them your civilisation and your progress and your literature, and at the same time to tell them they shall never have any chance of taking any part or share in the administration of the affairs of their country, except by their getting rid, in the first instance, of their European rulers. Surely, it would not be wise to tell a patriotic Native of India that.—*Lord Hartington in* 1883.

IX. Sir William Wilson Hunter

I do not believe that a people numbering one-sixth of the whole inhabitants of the globe, and whose aspirations have been nourished from their earliest youth on the strong food of English liberty, can be permanently denied a voice in the government of the country.—*From "England's Work in India."*

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APPENDIX III.

BRITISH STATESMEN ON INDIA AND THE WAR.

H. M. The King-Emperor.

Amongst the many incidents that have marked the unanimous up-rising of the populations of my Empire in defence of its unity and integrity, nothing has moved me more than the passionate devotion to my Throne expressed both by my Indian and English subjects and by the Feudatory Princes and Ruling Chiefs of India and their prodigious offers of their lives and their resources in the cause of the realm. Their one-voiced demand to be foremost in conflict has touched my heart and has inspired to the highest issues the love and devotion which, as I well know, have ever linked my Indian subjects and myself. I recall to mind India's gracious message to the British Nation of goodwill and fellowship which greeted my return in February 1912, after the solemn ceremony of my Coronation Durbar at Delhi, and I find in this hour of trial a full harvest and a noble fulfilment of the assurance given by you that the destinies of Great Britain and India are indissolubly linked. —*H. E. the Viceroy Lord Hardinge read the King's Message at the Imperial Legislative Council at Simla, on September 8, 1914.*

The Rt. Hon. Mr. Asquith.

We welcome with appreciation and affection their proferred aid and, in the Empire which knows no distinction of race or class, where all alike are subjects of the King-Emperor and are joint and equal custodians of our common interest and fortunes, we here hail with profound and heartfelt gratitude their association side by side and shoulder to shoulder with the Home and Dominion troops, under a flag which is the symbol to all of the Unity that the world in arms cannot dissever or dissolve.—*Speech at the Guild Hall, London, on September* 4, 1914.

H. E. Lord Hardinge.

There is, I believe, nothing like comradeship in arms before the enemy and joint participation in the dangers and hardships of war to level all distinctions, to inspire mutual respect and to foster friendship. This I regard as the bright side of the despatch of our troops to Europe and of the heavy material sacrifices that are being made by India for the sake of the Empire.

I cannot help feeling that as a consequence better relations will be promoted amongst the component parts of the British Empire, many misunderstandings will be removed and outstanding grievances will be settled in an amicable and generous manner. In this sense out of evil good may come to India, and this is the desire of all.—*Speech at the Meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, September 8, 1914.*

General French.

One of the outstanding features of this, as of every action fought by the Indian Corps, is the stirring record of the comradeship in arms which exists between British and Indian soldiers . . . . The Indian troops have fought with utmost steadfastness and gallantry whenever they have been called upon . . . . At their own particular request, they have taken their turn in the trenches and performed most useful and valuable service.—*Field Marshal's Despatch.*

The Marquis of Crewe.

I desire to express my conviction that the recognition by this meeting of the answer which India has given to Germany would thrill through the whole of the Empire. That answer has been given by the Indian Army, by the Princes of India, and by the whole people of India, who have lavished their labour, their gifts, and their prayers on behalf of the cause of which their beloved King Emperor is the centre and the symbol. Of the hopes of the future, Mr. Bonar Law has spoken eloquently, and I would like also to think that the association of India and of the Colonies at such a gathering as this is a significant sign of the essential comprehension which, as

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the years roll on, would, as I firmly believe, sweep away all those obstacles of distance, of creed, or of race which seem to interfere with the complete union of the different members of the great Imperial Confederation—a union which would hinge upon the free activities of each, and which would be firmly based upon a common belief in the progress of the whole.—*Speech at the Guild Hall, London.*

. . . . . .

It is perhaps even more striking, certainly no less gratifying, that those representing the various races in India, races representing a civilisation of almost untold antiquity, races which have been remarkable in arms, and the science of government, that they should in so whole-hearted a manner rally round the British Government, most of all round the King-Emperor at such a moment as this, and I am certain that the House will desire to express through those who are entitled to speak for it, its appreciation of their attitude and its recognition of the part they have played.—*Speech in the House of Lords as Secretary of State for India.*

Lord Haldane.

Indian soldiers are fighting for the liberties of humanity as much as we ourselves. India has freely given her lives and treasure in humanity's great cause; hence things cannot be left as they are. We have been thrown together in this mighty struggle and have been made to realise our oneness, so producing relations between India and England which did not exist before. Our victory would be a victory for the Empire as a whole and could not fail to raise it to a higher level.

The Rt. Hon. Mr. Bonar Law.

I do not think we fully realise here how much those men who have fought and died by the side of our own soldiers have helped us through these long months. It is my belief that as a nation we have more reason to be proud of the spontaneous enthusiasm on behalf of their Emperor and their Empire of the Indian Princes and Peoples than we had to be proud of the conquest of India.—*Speech at the Guild Hall, London.*

Mr. Charles Roberts.

We had warmly to recognise the substantial help which was being afforded to the Empire by the appearance of Indian troops at a great number of points in a battle-line which extended from Tsingtau to La Bassee across the breadth of three Continents.

. . . . . .

Indian troops themselves had, by all accounts, acquitted themselves in accordance with the expectations of those who best knew their courage and training. (Cheers.) They very soon adapted themselves to conditions of fighting which were as novel to them as to the British troops. They had stood the shell fire steadily, and when the time came to give the details of their action in the recent fighting it would be a record, of which both India and England would be proud.

. . . . . .

But it was clear that India claimed to be not a mere dependant of, but a partner in, the Empire, and her partnership with us in spirit and on the battlefields could not but alter the angle from which we should all henceforward look at the problems of the Government of India. (Cheers.) He thought he might call the attention of the House of Commons to one possible illustration of this change in the point of view. It must be a source of pride and satisfaction to India that she had sent the first of the great contingents from the Over-Seas Dominions into the European theatre of War, and that one of her brave soldiers, if the newspaper statements were correct, had been recommended for the coveted distinction of the Victoria Cross.—*Speech as Under-Secretary for India in the House of Commons.*

Mr. William Archer, M.A.

The very fact of her eager participation in this War of World Ideals shows that she is already well out of the slough of millennial stagnation. It now rests with us to help her forward, honestly, deligently, and with deliberate, intelligent purpose, on the path which shall lead her out of tutelage, and up to the eminent place to which her innate capacities entitle her in the economy of the Empire and of the world.—*In the "Daily News and Leader."*

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Lord Bryce.

By deeds of brilliant valour, the Indian troops had shown themselves the worthy compeers of our own troops and the troops of our Allies in their courage, devotion and endurance of all hardships. It was one of the redeeming incidents of a time full of sorrow. It was a new tie, and perhaps the deepest and most binding of all the ties that hereafter would unite us to India, because it showed that the efforts which we had made to discharge worthily the duties which Providence had laid upon us in India had been appreciated in India, and it showed that the people of India recognised that the future had in store for them and for us a closer connection than ever before based upon this endurance of common suffering and upon this devotion to a common cause. We might reasonably hope that our relations to India would rest upon a surer foundation of mutual affection and respect than was possible before, and that there would now be a feeling of common interest and common pride in the glory of the Empire and of common devotion to its welfare.—*Speech at the Royal Society of Arts, March* 18, 1915.

Lord Landsdowne.

The word "generosity" is often accompanied by the word "Princely," and in India we have every reason to be aware of what "princely generosity" means. But in this case, they have given us a great deal more. . . The great response of India must bring consolation and encouragement. I am sure it will be the desire of the House that our cordial thanks should be conveyed to the people of India and the Indian Chiefs who have stood by us in so conspicuous a manner.—*Speech in the House of Lords.*

His Excellency Lord Carmichael.

The loyalty of Bengal is undoubted . . . To me the fact seems undoubted—you know how far it is true you will in all wise ways prove it.—*Speech at the Bengal Legislative Council, 11th August, 1914.*

Lord Curzon.

It would be an act of folly to refrain from using troops which were not inferior to but in some respects the most efficient of the whole Army. The martial spirit in India was traditional and famous, and why, when we wanted every man we could get, should we refrain from employing them, because the sun happened to have looked upon them and made them dark? They would not fire on the Red Cross-badge; they would not murder innocent women and children; they would not bombard Christian cathedrals even if to them they were the fanes of an alien faith. The East was sending out a civilised soldier to save Europe from the modern Huns.—*Speech at Hull, September* 7, 1914.

Lord Islington.

Among the various schemes proposed for federating the Empire and consolidating its administration, to the best of my knowledge, none has really fairly and squarely faced the problem of India. Old ideas die hard, and in some quarters, I have no doubt, it is still thought that India is a backward and undeveloped dependency, with a vast population relying for government on a small band of Englishmen, who control the public services. This was not a correct description of India twenty years ago; still less is it so to-day.

It is quite true that India does not possess self-government in the accepted sense, as recognised by the Self-Governing Dominions; but she does claim, by reason of her size, geographical position, volume of trade, intellectual and political development, military value, and, last but not least, by her proved loyalty to the Crown, that her exceptional position should now be recognised, and that she should be admitted as an articulate member to discussions affecting the Empire as a whole. This claim, I venture to urge, merits the sympathetic consideration of all who are concerned with the wider aspects of Imperial development.—*Speech as Under-Secretary of State for India at the Conference in July* 1916, *between representatives of the Home and Dominion Parliaments, in the House of Commons.*

His Excellency Lord Pentland.

We may all, I think, be proud that the troops of this country are fighting side by side with those of the rest of the Empire in the cause of civilisation and honour, and I rejoice that they should have already given signal proofs of their valour and devotion before the eyes of Europe. I do not doubt that the spontaneous spirit of loyalty which at this critical time is found to pervade every country and every race composing the Empire will serve to draw still closer the ties which bind us all together.—*Speech at Ellore in Madras.*

Sir Francis Younghusband.

Just at the moment when our line, thin to breaking point, had to hold back the incessant and terrific onslaught of the Germans, this contingent of troops from India came upon the scene, and in their first serious action, on October 28, carried the village of Neuve Chapelle, since become so famous. That Indians were able to help the French, the Belgians, and ourselves in stopping a blow which the Germans had prepared for years is a thing of which they may be proud, and for which we should always be grateful to them.—*Speech at the Royal Colonial Institute.*

Sir Valentine Chirol, Kt.

Who can doubt that, as the result of this generous co-operation in war, there will come, when the war is over, a desire for closer and more generous co-operation in peace between Europeans and Indians? Who can doubt that both sides will approach in a broader spirit and with deeper insight the many social and political problems which have still to be worked out in India? Who can doubt that the delicate question of India's position within the Empire will present itself from a very different angle to the British people, not only of these islands but in our great Self-Governing Dominions, after Australians and Canadians, South Africans and New Zealanders have shared with Indian troops the dangers and the glories of the battlefield.—"*The United Empire.*"

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The Rt. Hon. Mr. Austin Chamberlain.

India, instead of being a cause of anxiety, has been a substantial help to the Empire in time of need. She was able to send troops to aid in the great battle of Ypres in those critical days when the Germans were striving to reach Calais. She has also sent troops to Egypt, Gallipoli, East Africa, Mesopotamia, Persia and China. No fewer than twenty-one regiments of Indian cavalry and eighty-six battalions of Indian infantry, in addition to the troops placed at the disposal of the Government by the rulers of the Indian Native States, have been fighting the battles of the Empire far beyond the Indian borders. These have been despatched completely equipped, and, in addition, drafts more than filling up the vacancies caused by casualties have been regularly forwarded. And the people of India, Sepoys and Maharajas, villagers and highly educated public men, have given their support, because they are deeply convinced that in this war the British Empire is fighting in a just and righteous cause. The Indian people have a high sense of right and wrong. They saw that in this war, the Allies were in the right, as they regarded the cause of the Allies as the cause of India

. . . . . .

The Indian National Congress is an independent unofficial body. In ordinary times it is highly critical o fthe Government. The expression by its president, and the resolution of loyalty which was passed, may be taken as representative of the feeling of the great bulk of the Indian people.—*Statement made in the American Press, May* 12, 1916.

Canon Scott Holland, M.A., D.D., D.Litt.

As for India, it is impossible to use words adequate for the stupendous occasion, which will not seem to minister to vainglory.

We hoped that, in spite of much shortcoming, our work in India had not been without some ideal of service rendered. But we had never dared to believe that it would have won this amazing response. We find ourselves trusted beyond our wildest dreams. We

have actually won their hearts. They will die for us. Oh! the unspeakable shame of remembering the cold racial pride with which we have treated those who would spend their lives for us? How stupid, and mean, and disgusting it all looks now! In spite of it they have understood. They have taken us at our best. They have recognised the principles on which we acted, yet to which we were so often false. It is too good to be true. We can but confess how little we have deserved such a transcendent reward; and pledge ourselves to treat India henceforward on the level of this her splendid offer to England in her hour of need.—"*The Commonwealth.*"

His Honor Sir M. O'Dwyer.

These are the races which have carried the banners of the King-Emperor and spread the fame of the Punjabi soldier throughout the East from Pekin to Cairo and to Central Africa; they have now gone to win fresh laurels for themselves and their country fighting side by side with the manhood of the United Kingdom and of her Colonies and Dominions on the battlefields of Europe. The enthusiasm with which the troops called out responded to the call of duty is, I believe, only equalled by the disappointment of those who were left behind.—*Speech at the Punjab Legislative Council.*

His Excellency Lord Willingdon.

. . . . . India will prove herself to be, both at home and abroad, a great bulwark of support in the defence of the Empire.—*Speech at the Bombay Legislative Council, December 8, 1914.*

Sir John Hewett.

Their employment in this supreme struggle side by side with the best troops that the world knows will do more to make our rule in India popular than any other step that the Government could take.—*Late Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces in the "London Times."*

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The Hon. Sir William Meyer, Kt.

The value of Indian contingents who have done so splendidly in this War, the values of the Indian supplies of munitions of War, and so on, will prove to have been of material assistance in determining the present campaigns. I have no sympathy with one who belittles the part that India is taking in the present conflict. India has contributed things far more valuable than money, 2,000,000 trained soldiers and vast supplies of munitions of war of all kinds.—*Speech at Karachi, October* 14, 1916.

Professor Gilbert Murray, M.A., D.D., D.Litt.

Good and evil come together, our higher ideals are forgotten, but we are a band of brothers standing side by side. Many English hearts must have swelled with almost incredulous gratitude to hear of the messages and the gifts which come flooding in from all the Dominions over-seas—and India above all! One who has cared much about India, and has friends among Indian nationalists, cannot read with dry eyes the messages that come from all races and creeds of India, from Hindu and Moslem societies, from princes and holy men and even political evils. We have not always been sympathetic in our government of India, we have not always been wise. But we have tried to be just; and we have given to India the best work of our best men. It would have been hard on us if India had shown no loyalty at all; but she has given us more than we deserved, more than we should have dared to claim. Neither Indian nor Englishman can forget it.—"*The Oxford War Pamphlet.*"

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APPENDIX IV.

THE BRITISH PRESS ON INDIA AND THE WAR.

The Times:—It will be our part, when we have settled our affair with Germany, to see to it that as the years pass, she (India) takes an ampler place in the Councils of the Empire. Unsought, she has shown loyalty and devotion without stint. We have now to make her feel increasingly that she can best fulfil her destinies and attain her hopes within the British Empire rather than ouside it. One of the greatest tasks that lies before British statesmanship in this country is to attach India freely and fully as a component part of the Empire.

The Daily Graphic:—Never before has India been brought so close to the heart of England, and both will gain permanently by the increased spirit of mutual confidence between Briton and Indian that German aggression has called into being. . . . . No one can read the Viceroy's short summary of what India is doing without feeling that a great event has occurred in our history. Here are men not of the same race as ourselves, knowing our language only as a foreign tongue, familiar with our traditions only at second hand, and yet one and all they come forward with a loyalty that has rarely been equalled and never surpassed to offer their blood and treasure in the service of their Sovereign and in the service of England. Few have dared to hope for such a universal demonstration of loyalty from the numberless multitude of varied races that make up the 300,000,000 inhabitants of the Indian Empire.

The Evening News:—We have given great freedom to the people of India, and as years go by we shall give them more and more, just as we have given our own Self-Governing Dominions freer and freer rein, until the bonds that bind them to us are only of the spirit and yet far stronger than any of purely material strength.

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The Daily Mail:—It has been reserved for German policy to strengthen British sympathy with the Indian peoples and to weld the races of the Empire by that sense of unity and reciprocal affection which comes with common effort and sacrifice in the fighting line against a common foe.

The Star:—British rule in India, Ireland, and South Africa has not been faultless, but its human errors have been repaired by its steadfast strivings towards justice, liberty, and equal citizenship.

The Westminster Gazette:—India recognises at this time that there is no other European Government which she could desire to have installed in the place of the British Raj. It is our part in return to see that she has full opportunities of working out her destinies and taking a position in the Empire which satisfies her self-respect and her pride in her ancient civilisation.

The Newcastle Chronicle:—We cannot remain indifferent to such proofs of devotion. . . . and it will be more than ever the task of the Indian administrator to hasten the day when our suzerainty will remain as the corner-stone of a complete structure of autonomy.

The Nottingham Guardian:—Out of this terrible war good will in many ways come, and not the least of the permanent benefits will be the tightening of the bonds uniting Great Britain and India. . . . . .

A Government based on the goodwill of the great majority is proof against petty anarchist efforts and the money spent on them is wasted. Were the British Empire to sink out of existence to-morrow, this wonderful achievement would remain in history the marvel and admiration of future generations. But we are not going to sink out of history. We are very much alive indeed. The story of India and the debt we owe, not only to its great princes, but to its numberless millions who have learned to love and to trust us, will impress still more on the thought of every British citizen the magnitude of that work of Empire reorganisation which must follow the war.

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The Manchester Guardian, May 22, 1916:—The increase of loyalty in the Dominions and of their effective assistance in our times of danger has been proportionate to their increase of freedom. India has for obvious reasons not been treated on the colonial model, but it, too, has had a species of Home Rule in this sense; that her Government in deciding its policy has never had to think of anything but the good of India. It has been governed in accordance with ideas of what was in the interest of India.

These ideas might be right or they might be wrong, but they were always Indian in the political, if not in the racial, sense. We have had a reward, but it is nothing to what we may have later by further progress along the same lines. And that is a moral which must never be forgotten. India is and must remain far nearer to us, far more really one with us just as the Dominions are, more really one with us, because of all that has happened since the beginning of the great war. And this change must find expression not merely in words but in government, in political arrangements and, above all, in the relations, personal and social, of the two races.

The Pall Mall Gazette:—It constitutes a page of chivalry unsurpassed in the traditions of East or West, and it has linked us with India in a new consciousness of personal and emotional ties. The great territorial leaders of the Indian people are, as Lord Hardinge says, "the pillars of the State," and it would be the grossest of political errors should we ever forget their vital part in any system of Indian administration. But the seeds of attachment to the authority of the King-Emperor have taken root no less in the village than in the palace. "Trouble in India" since the outbreak of war has never got beyond an affair of cut-throats—a disturbance of the criminal and not the political kind, showing that Germany could find her affinities only among the dregs of the population.

The Aberdeen Daily Journal, 23rd May 1916:—She is not, it is true, a daughter Dominion, but as a foster-child she has demonstrated by the blood her heroes

have shed that she is no less devoted than our own children States. Closer union is no doubt a difficult problem when it comes to a solution, but the war may possibly lead to a gracious recognition of India's loyalty in our time of stress by the dropping of the jarring word "Dependency."

The Eastern Daily Press, 23rd May 1916:—The loyalty of India not only held our Eastern Empire inviolate, but rendered incalculable service to us and to our Allies in Europe. German intrigue was at work all the time. There is ample evidence, said Lord Hardinge, that German assistance, financial and other, has been given to the agitators. A great revolt was timed to break out on Christmas Day last, and seven thousand Indians from the United States and Canada, primed with revoluntionary ideas and German gold, managed to obtain admission to India. Their work was brought to nought, as was that of other conspirators, by the implacable loyalty of the people and the native army. Wherever sedition was preached, the Government had due warning of it. Villagers indicated the presence of revolutionaries to the police. The peasants assisted in tracking down the plotters, and even gave their lives in defence of the Government in the melee which occurred on one occasion when the authorities were arresting the revolutionaries. . . . . .

India stood the test, and those who had no faith in the merit of "trusting the people" have recognised their mistake. Lord Hardinge, who was undismayed by the Delhi outrage at the beginning of his Viceroyalty, adhered to his policy. He knew what the penalties of miscalculation would be, just as Mr. Birrell realised them in the case of Ireland. But he persisted in his belief in Indian loyalty and acted accordingly. Must not the sequel do much to modify British opinion of Indian ability to take a more responsible part in the administration of affairs?

The Manchester Courier:—The splendid example of loyalty to England set by India is one of the most satisfactory of many remarkable happenings brought about

by the present war. It is a challenge to all the nonsense and arrogance of critics of the Bernhardi type. The 'multitudinous races and people' are one, without reference to geographical division, religious distinctions, political divisions, or races. Loyalty has bridged all cleavages. The idea that our Colonies and India are a 'splendid illusion' will never again be entertained by any sane man.

The Daily Chronicle:—The Viceroy of India's despatch brings vividly before us the fine loyalty of India in this crisis. . . . . As to the culture of our Asiatic fellow-subjects and Allies, no Sikhs or Gurkhas fighting under the British flag ever had the crime of a Louvain or an Aerschot, a Tirlemont, or a Vise to their credit, nor will they have.

The Daily News:—The gifts are valuable, but the spirit indicated is of greater consequence. This is a tribute to our rule in India that Englishman can receive without a glow of pride.

. . . . . The bread of freedom which we have cast upon the waters is returning to us after many days.

The New Statesman:—It is obvious that all Asia cannot remain for ever contented with the position of subordination which it at present occupies. The Russo-Japanese War stirred Asia to its depths, and this war is going to stir it still further. Japan and China are apparently going to play a part in the coming events, and although the voice of discontent, and what is called sedition, is for the time being hushed in India, that country is very far from being satisfied with the condition of things that prevails within its boundaries, or with the treatment that it receives from the British Government. Everyone, who has watched events in India, knows that there is a great deal of real discontent there, and unless the British handle the situation in a spirit of liberal statesmanship, and make large political concessions, the situation might easily and rapidly grow very grave. The news from India indicate that she is prepared to stand by the Empire whole-heartedly in this crisis.

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APPENDIX V.

THE PRINCES AND PEOPLE OF INDIA.

H. H. The Nizam of Hyderabad.

Your Excellency is aware that the whole resources of my State are at the disposal of the British Government, and it is a pride to me that one of my regiments has been accepted and is now under orders for foreign service. In 1887, my revered father offered to Her Imperial Majesty Queen Victoria the sum of Rs. 60 lakhs when danger merely threatened the borders of the Indian Empire. I should be untrue alike to the promptings of my own heart and to the traditions of my house if I offered less to His Imperial Majesty King George V in this just and momentous war.—*Letter to H. E. Lord Hardinge at the outbreak of War.*

H. H. The Maharaja of Mysore.

This is a time I feel at which the Feudatory States and all subjects of the British Empire should stand shoulder to shoulder for her defence, and I desire to assure Your Excellency in all sincerity of the devotion and loyalty of my people and our readiness to make every sacrifice to protect our common interests. . . . My people and myself will cheerfully respond to any sacrifice demanded of us in such a crisis and are prepared to bear our share in the cost of the War.—*Letter to H. E. Lord Hardinge in offering Rs. 50 lakhs towards the Indian War Fund.*

H. H. The Maharaja of Kashmir.

Our life, liberty, freedom of conscience and all that we possess is the gift of our benign Government, and our destinies are indissolubly bound up with the maintenance of the British rule. We must, therefore, all pray for the victory and glory of the British arms. I

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call upon every subject of mine, whether Hindu, Mahomedan, Christian, or professing any other religion, to offer, according to his own religion, prayers to Almighty that He may, in His inexhaustible goodness and power, grant His blessings upon the British and Indian soldiers, guide them in the war and lead them to speedy victory.—*Appeal to His Highness' Officers and subjects to aid the Imperial Indian Relief Fund.*

H. H. The Maharaja of Bikanir.

Whether we come from the territories of British India or those of the Indian States, we are all Indians, who are entirely united in loyalty and attachment to our King-Emperor, in our affection for our Mother-Country and in our deep and genuine solicitude for our brethren of all creeds and communities throughout India. And I know I am voicing the feelings and sentiments of Your Highness when I further state that we of the Indian States, who yield to none in the whole of the British Empire in steadfast loyalty and deep devotion to the person and throne of our King-Emperor, happily find it quite consistent to be at one and the same time, in the best and truest sense of the terms, staunch loyalists and imperialists as well as true patriots of our Mother-Country, deeply sympathising with all the legitimate aspirations of our brother-Indians in British India just as much as we feel sure our brethren in British India sympathise with the legitimate aspirations of the Princes and people of the Indian States, and our desire to see maintained unimpaired our dignity, privileges and high position. . . . . .

India, the daughter State, has proved that it would, as of old, always faithfully stand by England through thick and thin for the honour and glory of the mighty British Empire, of which she considers herself an integral part. After the end of this terrible world-wide war, who can doubt that the angle of vision as regards India will be still further altered in favour of every reasonable and ripe political reform. Close personal comradeship on the battlefields, and the common bond of loyalty for the Sovereign and love for the Empire, have furthermore led to a similar favourable change in the angle of vision of

the self-governing colonies and the other parts of the British Dominions, which, for the first time, are beginning to realise and understand India at her true worth. Big changes are in the air, including the reconstruction and reconstitution of our Empire, and though at present the immediate energies of all of us must be devoted to winning the war, yet when by God's infinite grace the Arms of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor and those of our brave Allies are crowned with victory, an event which happily is already in sight, I sincerely believe that the British statesmanship and British sense of justice and fairness will rise equal to the occasion and accord to our country that place, to which her position in the Empire and her loyal services to the Crown entitle her. We may, therefore, confidently assume that Great Britain and the British Nation, who have so bravely made and are still making such tremendous sacrifices to uphold the cause of justice and humanity, will not forget the just claims and aspirations of India to enable her to work out her destiny under Britain's guiding hand and protection.—*Speech at the Farewell Entertainment to His Highness, at Bombay, 7th February*, 1917.

H. H. The Maharaja of Patiala.

I am expressing the united feeling of the Ruling Princes of India when I ask our representative His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir to carry with him to His Imperial Majesty and to his Government, as well as to our brethren in Great Britain and her Colonies, our earnest assurance that India's Princes will spare no pains to co-operate in the cause of the Empire, that their staunch devotion and loyalty to the august person of His Imperial Majesty and their feelings of steadfast friendship and alliance with the nations of Great Britain will find satisfaction only in practical demonstration thereof, that their determination to be of what humble assistance they can, in the present crises, will be even more resolute, if that is possible, than it has been in the past, and that no accident, trouble or sacrifice shall deter them from the course which they have

laid out for themselves. We have no other motives but those of pure attachment to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor and such as spring from unity of interest with Great Britain and her Colonies — *Speech at the Farewell Entertainment to H. H. The Maharaja of Bikanir, at Bombay, 7th February,* 1917.

H. H. The Maharaja of Alwar.

We are all naturally anxious to raise India's position in accordance with her ancient glory. India has nothing to beg but at the present time it is not even the opportunity to claim or ask that our Aryavarta may at least be put in such a position that she may be able to hold her head alongside the other sister nations of the Empire. We are not going to embarrass the Government, who guide the destinies of this country, with such questions at the present moment as it is necessary for us to concert all our energies towards our common aim of ultimate success. We feel confident that when the moment arrives, we shall not be forgotten or left behind. It is not possible that a nation who has drawn the sword to protect the liberties of weaker nations, such as Belgium, will overlook our rights and claims to raise our heads on the footing of equality with the other Dominions when the war is successfully over, and the British people extend to India their hand of comradeship and entrust us to wield the destinies of our own country. Your Highness can assure them that we shall be as ready to grasp their hand with feelings of warm gratitude and emotion as we have been to discharge our duties in the present crisis. When such constitutional changes take place, it is not possible to think that the destinies of India are likely to be ignored. We rest in confidence at the present moment.— *Speech at the Farewell Entertainment to H. H. The Maharaja of Bikanir, at Bombay, 7th February,* 1917.

H. H. The Aga Khan.

There is no need to differentiate between various communities and races of India. All are united and eager to support the Imperial cause gratified that their material representatives are to assist in the European war for the first time in history.

The Maharaja of Burdwan.

We Indians realise, and realise it most, perhaps at a time like this, how much we owe to England for our peace and prosperity, and how much we are bound up with her for our future progress and happiness. Her interests, her dangers are our own, her glories are our glories.—*From a Speech at the Calcutta Demonstration.*

Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

Yes, I have not the least doubt in my mind that every individual of the vast mass of humanity of India will have but one desire in his heart, *viz.*, to support to the best of his ability and power the British people in their glorious struggle for justice, liberty, honour and true humane greatness and happiness.

The Princes and the People of India have made already spontaneous efforts, and until the victorious end of this great struggle no other thought than that of supporting whole-heartedly the British Nation should enter the mind of India.—*Letter addressed to the Indian Public, August* 12, 1914.

Sir S. P. Sinha.

The present War is a life and death struggle for the achievement of that freedom which is our ambition as much as it is the ambition of England herself. I believe with the fervour of religious faith that we shall find that freedom within the British Empire and, mark my words, within the British Empire alone. England as a nation is dedicated to freedom, and the great issue involved in the present crisis is, whether a nation so constituted shall endure and subsist. On England's victory all our hopes

are centred. Does anyone think the best of England, which upholds this high ideal, will not appreciate our aspiration? Does anyone think that she will not realise that what we, Indians, ask for is that same freedom for which she asks us to help her to fight? I have faith in England.—*Speech at Calcutta, February* 4, 1917.

Sir Pherozeshah Mehta.

At this juncture of supreme gravity we have met together here to-day in the public hall, men of different races and religions, of different creeds and communities, English and Hindu, Parsee and Mussalmans, to proclaim with one heart, one soul and one mind that these differences distinguish but do not divide us, and that in the presence of this solemn situation we are merged in one general and universal denomination, the proud denomination of local and devoted subjects of the British Crown. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) As such we are met together to lay at the feet of our august Sovereign, our beloved King-Emperor, our unswerving fealty, our unshaken allegiance and our enthusiastic homage.

Ladies and gentlemen, often enough have we met in this historic hall to speak of our rights, our charters and our privileges. At this solemn moment we can only remember that we owe sacred duties and holy obligations to that British Rule, under whose auspices the lofty destinies of this great and magnificent land are being moulded for over a century, and under whose wise and provident and righteous statesmanship, the welfare, happiness and prosperity of the country are being incessantly promoted.—*Speech at Bombay, August* 13, 1914.

The Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, K.C.I.E.

This aid was given when France and England were struggling for predominance and, in the opinion of educated Indians, it was a wise dispensation of Providence that gave the keys of power into the hands of Great Britain. Ever since then Indian troops had fought for the British *Raj* in many lands, and to-day the enthusiastic response of India to the call westward had

revealed to a great many people something of the vastness of the reserves of power there were for England in India. The fighting races of India were full of loyalty, and the utilization of their services was promoting the devotion which every Indian felt for the Throne. This devotion was founded on the justice of British rule and the principles of equality which constituted its greatest glory. By these principles Great Britain would maintain her Dominion in India for a very long time indeed, and if separation ultimately came, it would be by means of mutual compromise and mutual consideration. But for many years to come, the bond between England and India could not be severed in any shape without disaster.—*Speech in London.*

Sir K. G. Gupta, K.C.I.E.

India had come forward not to "help Great Britain" merely, but to help herself. If anything happened to bring disaster to the centre of this vast Empire, the various outlying parts of it might fall to pieces. Therefore, the soldiers from beyond the seas were fighting a battle of self-preservation.—*Speech in London, 16th December*, 1914.

Raja Sir Harnam Singh, K.C.I.E.

If any troops are to leave India for active warfare, let us sincerely hope that Indian as well as British soldiers will be sent in manly comradeship and on equal terms. It will be a statesmanlike step as well as of vast popular advantage. It will raise unprecedented enthusiasm in India as a token of signal confidence in His Majesty's Indian subjects, and it will show to the world, to foes and Allies alike, what the Indian Empire means and what Indian troops can achieve on the field of battle.—*Speech at the Simla Demonstration before the Indian Troops left for the War.*

Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim.

We wish to avert by all that lies in our power the humiliation of a change of Government. We have assurances afforded to us in the history of British occupation of India, by the promises of our Sovereign and

the pledges given by British statesmen on solemn occasions, that the British Government in India has a higher purpose to serve than merely the maintenance of peace and order, which any Government must secure if it is to exist at all. That purpose is to enlist by means of Western education the sympathy and co-operation of the people in the ideals of Western civilisation, so that they may ultimately be fitted to administer the affairs of their own country as an integral part of the British Empire. From the Germans we can have no similar guarantees. . . . . We believe that by remaining within the orbit of the British Empire we shall be able sooner to realise the destiny of India than otherwise. These are cogent reasons for our sinking all differences in the face of a common danger, apart from the apparent justice of the British attitude in this war. . . . .—*Letter to the "London Times."*

Mr. Yusuf Ali, I.C.S.

The rally of India round the flag has been so splendid, so spontaneous and so unanimous that it is well both for India and England to realise the full meaning of this epoch-making achievement.—*At the East India Association, London.*

G. K. Gokhale.

Islam cannot survive without the protection of Great Britain, and they are wise people who recognise this fact. Who protects your holy places from an air raid? Not Germany, not Turkey too, but Great Britain.—*Islamic Mail.*

Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

The British Empire had certain ideals with which I have fallen in love, and one of those ideals is, that every subject of the British Empire has the freest scope possible for his energies and honour, and whatever he thinks is due to his conscience. I think that this is true of the British Empire, as it is not true of any other Government. (Applause.) I feel, as you here perhaps know, that I am no lover of any Government, and I

have more than once said that that Government is best which governs least. And I have found that it is possible for me to be governed least under the British Empire. Hence my loyalty to the British Empire. (Loud applause.)—*At the Madras Law Dinner.*

The Hon. Pundit M. M. Malaviya.

The destinies of our dear country are linked closely with the destinies of Great Britain. Any reverse to Britain means a serious menace to India, . . . I do not hesitate to say that I am loyal to the British Throne because I love my country.—*Speech at Allahabad.*

Dr. Sir S. Subrahmania Iyer, Kt.

Though this war will inflict incalculable harm on all the parties concerned, yet out of such evil good must come and will come. One of the advantages which India will gain may be said to have already accrued. For no one however malicious he may be will, in future, be able successfully to suggest doubts as to our loyalty to the Empire. No one can hereafter twist our representations, as to our wants and requirements as ebullitions of deep discontent and hidden disaffection. And this to my mind is no small advantage, as it will conduce to render the relation between the Indian people and the great British nation one of true brotherliness.—*Speech at the Madras Demonstration Meeting.*

The Hon. Mr. Muzr-ul-Haque, Bar.-at-Law.

We are Mussalmans and we are Indians, and we have to perform our duty in this double capacity. I am happy to believe that these two interests do not clash but are entirely identical.—*Address to the Patna Muslims.*

The Hon. Dr. Sir Sundar Lal, Kt.

I think we, as citizens of this great Empire, ought to show in some earnest, practical way our anxiety to give such support as we can and to help as far as lies in our power the cause of the Empire.—*Speech at Allahabad.*

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The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea.

In the name of the Congress, standing upon this platform, speaking on behalf of United India of Hindus and Mahomedans and all classes, races and creeds, we desire to proclaim to the world and tell the enemies of England and all else whom it may concern that behind the serried ranks of one of the finest armies in the world, there are multitudinous races, creeds and people in the world banded as one man and resolved to die in the defence of that great Empire (cheers) to which we are all proud to belong and which is the symbol of human freedom, justice and civilisation wherever floats its flag.

. . . . . .

Let me say this that if this unfortunate war should be prolonged and if England should demand our aid in men and money, the last pie that we have, the last drop of blood that runs through our veins (cheers) will be consecrated to the service of the Empire, to the glory of that great civilisation which that Empire represents.—*Speech in moving the Loyalty Resolution at the Madras Congress*, 1914.

Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E.

We should present a united front to the world and show them that Britain has at her back the support of every one of the various races and creeds and religions that go to form the great Indian nation.—*Speech as Dewan at the Baroda Demonstration.*

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APPENDIX VI.

THE INDIAN TROOPS AT THE FRONT.

H. M. The King-Emperor:—More than a year ago I summoned you from India to fight for the safety of My Empire and the honour of my pledged word on the battlefields of Belgium and France. The confidence which I then expressed in your sense of duty, your courage, and your chivalry, you have since then nobly justified.

I now require your services in another field of action; but before you leave France, I send my dear and gallant son, the Prince of Wales, who has shared with My Armies the dangers and hardships of the campaign, to thank you in my name for your services, and to express to you my satisfaction.

British and Indian comrades-in-arms, yours has been a fellowship in toils and hardships, in courage and endurance often against great odds, in deeds nobly done in days of ever-memorable conflict. In a warfare waged under new conditions, and in peculiarly trying circumstances, you have worthily upheld the honour of the Empire and the great traditions of My Army in India.

I have followed your fortunes with the deepest interest, and watched your gallant actions with pride and satisfaction. I mourn with you the loss of many gallant officers and men. Let it be your consolation, as it was their pride, that they freely gave their lives in a just cause for the honour of their Sovereign and the safety of My Empire. They died as gallant soldiers, and I shall ever hold their sacrifice in grateful remembrance.

You leave France with a just pride in honourable deeds already achieved and with my assured confidence that your proved valour and experience will contribute to further victories in the new fields of action to which you go.

I pray God to bless and guard you and to bring you back safely, when the final victory is won, each to his own home—there to be welcomed with honour among

his own people.—*Message to the Indian Army Corps on its departure from France*, 1916.

The Rt. Hon. Mr. Asquith:—When we look at the actual achievements of the force so spontaneously dispatched, so liberally provided for, so magnificently equipped, the battlefields of France and Flanders bear an undying tribute to their bravery.

India, too, with not less alacrity has claimed her share in the common task. Every class and creed, British and Native, Princes and People, Hindus and Mahomedans vie with one another in the noble and emulous rivalry.

Two divisions of their magnificent army are already on the way.—*Speech in the House of Commons.*

Lord Crewe:—It is well known in India that the African troops of the French Army which have been assisting the troops in France are of native origin, and I feel satisfied that it would be a disappointment to our loyal Indian fellow subjects, all the more on that account if they found themselves debarred for any reason from taking part in the campaign on the Continent of Europe. We shall find our Army there reinforced by soldiers, high souled men of first rate training and representing an ancient civilisation, and we feel certain that if they are called upon they will give the best possible account of themselves side by side with our British troops encountering the enemy.—*Speech in the House of Lords.*

General Sir Charles Munro, Commander-in-Chief of India:—India has rendered great service in the struggle of the last three years, and her armies have gained distinction in many fields. . . . . .

The virile population of the Punjab has filled the ranks of our regiments and given us thousands of gallant soldiers.—*Speech in the Imperial Legislative Council, February 21, in moving the Defence of India Bill*, 1917.

Mr. E. Ashmead-Bartlett.—The Indian Army has more than proved its excellence and its capacity to fight side by side with our Regular troops. The soldiers of India are, perhaps, the most highly trained in the world. They are nearly all long-service men who know their job

thoroughly from A to Z. They are hardy, brave, and full of cheerfulness in the field. . . . Some of their counter-attacks have been models of dash and skill. They are, in fact, above all else, good in attack. This is generally the case with highly-trained troops. . . The whole Indian Army has, in fact, been trained most highly in attack, in those great sweeping forward movements covering a wide stretch of broken country, where the men must show their initiative and their native instinct of keeping direction when marching on a particular objective. . . . The life in the trenches, standing for days knee-deep in mud and icy water, seeing your parapet continually subsiding and having to be rebuilt, exposed at all times to the enemy's snipers, his shell-fire and constant counter-attacks, is enough to try the patience of the most lion-hearted and iron-limbed. . . Yet the Indians have faced these conditions without showing signs of demoralisation and have borne their share of the task of holding the line with a courage and endurance worthy of soldiers of any of the European armies engaged.—" *Telegraph*," *London*.

The Daily Graphic:—Nothing brings men's hearts so close together as comradeship in arms. Englishmen and Indians have for generations fought side by side in Asia with mutual esteem and respect; but a special thrill of satisfaction will run through the whole of India if we show without delay that we are also glad to accept Indian help when war comes near to our own homes.

The Daily Telegraph:—If ever Englishmen had reason to be proud of their nation, it is to-day when the willing soldiers of the Indian Empire have been brought to fight in our quarrel across two thousand miles of sea.

The Pall Mall Gazette:—The rising of India to claim her honourable place in the battle-front of all the Britains, the pouring of her troops across the seas, the opening of her purse, the eager service of her Princes, the surging acclamation of her common faith and loyalty, compose a spectacle so moving and so wonderful that silent contemplation becomes easier than praise, or even gratitude.

An Order to the Indian Troops:—In a few days we shall be fighting, as it has never been our good fortune to fight before, against enemies having a long history, but is their history as long as yours ? You are the descendants of men who have been mighty rulers and great warriors of many centuries, and you will recall the glories of your race. Hindus and Mahomedans will be fighting side by side with British soldiers and our gallant French Allies, and you will be helping to make history. You will be the first soldiers of the King-Emperor to have the honour of showing in Europe that the sons of India have lost none of their ancient martial instincts and that they are worthy of the confidence reposed in them in battle. You will remember that your religion enjoins that to give your life in doing your duty is the highest reward. The eyes of your co-religionists and countrymen are upon you, and they are eagerly awaiting news of how their brethren conduct themselves when they meet the foe. Such has been the fruit of Indian heroism, and there is no doubt that they will prove worthy of their great traditions.

The Times:—No episode in this extraordinary war is more remarkable or inspiring in the presence of Indian Troops on the Continent. France will be equally proud of the men who joyously came to fight on her behalf as well as on ours.

The Star:—The response of the Self-Governing Dominions to the call of the Motherland we expected, but the reply of India surpasses all our hopes. Every Indian soldier fights as a citizen and as an equal of his British comdrades in defence of a common heritage.

Eastern Morning News, 22nd May, 1916:—There has been nothing more movingly picturesque than the part played in this great war drama by the native troops of India. Not even the Canadians or the Anzacs have displayed a more fervent devotion to Great Britain. . . It was no small tribute to her loyalty that we left these 10,000 or 15,000 troops behind when, as Lord Hardinge pointed out, could Germany have had her way, they were at the mercy of the millions of natives left behind. If England knew her India, India knew her Germany.

The Aberdeen Press:—All over the Empire the deeds of the Indian troops will excite a profound interest, and their efficiency and courage will, you may be sure, prove to the world that the high opinion formed of them by Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener—Commanders-in-Chief of the Indian Army—is fully warranted.

The London Times referring to the fall of Bagdad says in an editorial, dated March 12, 1917:—It should always be remembered that a very large proportion of the forces which General Maude has guided to victory are Indian regiments. The cavalry which hung on the flanks and demoralised the Turkish army and chased it to the confines of Bagdad must have been almost exclusively Indian cavalry. The infantry which bore months of privation and proved in the end the masters of the Turks included Indian units which had already fought heroically in France, Gallipoli and Egypt. Whatever mistakes the Indian military administration may have made in the earlier stages of the Mesopotamian campaign, the valour of the Indian troops, who have contributed so largely to the successes on the Tigris, has never been questioned. In the last few days, there have been discussions which seemed to imply that India's help in the war chiefly consisted of the belated offer of financial aid. She has done far more; for, in common with ourselves, she has given the blood of her best and bravest and nowhere more than on the deserts of Mesopotamia.

Reuter:—The enemy had been pressing us hard all along the line and suddenly flung a brigade of infantry, supported by artillery, at a point where he guessed we were most exhausted. The Germans were half-way towards our trenches when the Indians, who had only arrived the day before, were brought up. Receiving the command, they swept forward, we cheering as they passed. Making a slight detour to avoid our line of fire, they swept into the Germans from the left like a whirlwind with a shrill yell. They rode right through the Germans, thrusting to the right and left and bringing men down every time. The Germans broke and

ran for their lives. The Lancers pursued them for about a mile. When the Indians returned, they were cheered all along the line.

Correspondents describe how the Sikhs and the Gurkhas received their baptism of fire in the war. Near La Bassee they saved the situation when an avalanche of Germans overwhelmed the British trenches. We are told that the Indians displayed bravery and dash equal to anything seen throughout the war. They had been held in reserve, and were ordered forward with the bayonet in the nick of time. The issue was decided in an instant. The German advance was not merely checked; it was beaten and broken, the enemy fleeing headlong. The Indians ran through them, using the steel in the most workman-like manner. They turned the foe back to receive the fire of the British Infantry right and left. There was a regular slaughter. The Indians did not stop at the recaptured trenches, but pursued the enemy some distance downhill, till they were recalled. They returned as proud of their work as the "Tommies" were of them. . . . . .

The thrilling story of half-a-dozen Gurkhas blowing up a German ammunition store, and their successful return, has been described by a Paris paper:

"All the efforts of the allied artillery to dislodge the German heavy batteries near Stype had failed, says the Paris journal; and aviators finally located the German ammunition store three and-a-half miles behind the German entrenched line, seven miles from the coast. A Gurkha detachment embarked at nightfall on two gun-boats for the mouth of the Yser. After a long march the Gurkhas reached a point three-quarters of a mile from the ammunition store. They crouched noiselessly in a wood and, discarding their accoutrements, wriggled on their hands and knees, their *kukris* in their mouths. Half-an-hour passed, and then the croak of a frog was heard. The forms of six German sentries, previously visible on the road, disappeared without a sound. The remaining Gurkhas dashed forward, and the Allies' Staff, who had been anxiously watching through night-glasses, saw a flash of light and heard a great explosion, followed

by countless others as the shells exploded. The little troop safely won its way back to the gunboats, and the next day the German batteries were moved to the rear."

. . . . . .

There is again the story of a German aeroplane brought down by the bullets of Indian marksmen:

"We are told that while a train filled with Indian troops was standing at a station in France, a German aeroplane passed over the town and began to drop bombs. The Indians left the train and indulged in individual fire, with the result that in a few moments the aeroplane fell. It was apparently carrying more bombs, as there was a terrific explosion when it struck the ground. The three aviators were torn to unrecognisable shreds."

The Observer gives the following story of a Gurkha Commandant which speaks highly of the Gurkha acumen:—

The audacity of the enemy cannot be better illustrated than by an incident which occurred in front of the Gurkha trenches. A figure, silhouetted in the moonlight wearing complete Gurkha uniform, approached the end of the trenches and delivered the following message:—'Gurkhas are to move up the trenches. Another Gurkha contingent is advancing to their support.' Puzzled by the announcement, the officer in charge asked:—'Who are you, and where do you come from?' And in reply the same order was given. The man's English was good, but the officer's suspicions were aroused, and he asked: 'If you are a Gurkha, by what boat did you cross?' No answer was given to this question, and the man fled, but he had not gone five yards before he was riddled with bullets. If the officer had been deceived, the trenches would have been swarmed with Germans almost before the Gurkhas had made room for them.

The Daily Chronicle:—We are sure that the highly-trained and splendidly-disciplined Indian troops will not only display a bravery in action equal to that of any Europeans, but give the civilised world a much better example of civilised and humane conduct than the Germans have done.

APPENDIX VII.

INDIANS AND THE VICTORIA CROSS.

The following account of Indians who have won the Victoria Cross is taken from the *Indian Year Book* for 1917:—

SEPOY KHUDADAD, 12TH BALUCHIS.

On 31st October 1914, at Hollebeke, Belgium, the British officer in charge of the detachment having been wounded, and the other gun put out of action by a shell, Sepoy Khudadad, though himself wounded, remained working his gun until all the other five men of the gun detachment had been killed.

NAICK DARWAN SING NEGI, 1-39TH GARHWAL RIFLES.

For great gallantry on the night of the 23rd-24th November 1914, near Festubert, France, when the Regiment was engaged in retaking and clearing the enemy out of our trenches, and, although wounded in two places in the head, and also in the arm, being one of the first to push round each successive traverse, in the face of severe fire from bombs and rifles at the closest range.

JAMADAR MIR DAST, 55TH COKE'S RIFLES.

For most conspicuous bravery and great ability at Ypres, on 26th April 1915, when he led his platoon with great gallantry during the attack, and afterwards collected various parties of the Regiment (when no British officers were left) and kept them under his command until the retirement was ordered. Jamadar Mir Dast subsequently on this day displayed remarkable courage in helping to carry eight British and Indian officers into safety, whilst exposed to very heavy fire.

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RIFLEMAN KULBIR THAPA, 2-3RD GURKHA RIFLES.

For most conspicuous bravery during operations against the German trenches south of Mauquissart. When himself wounded, on the 25th September 1915, he found a badly wounded soldier of the 2nd Leicestershire Regiment behind the first line German trench, and though urged by the British soldier to save himself, he remained with him all day and night. In the early morning of the 26th September, in misty weather, he brought him out through the German wire, and, leaving him in a place of comparative safety returned and brought in two wounded Gurkhas one after the other. He then went back in broad daylight for the British soldier and brought him in also, carrying him most of the way and being at most points under the enemy's fire.

LANCE-NAICK LALA, 41ST DOGRAS.

Finding a British officer of another regiment lying close to the enemy, he dragged him into a temporary shelter, which he himself had made, and in which he had already bandaged four wounded men. After bandaging his wounds he heard calls from the Adjutant of his own Regiment who was lying in the open severely wounded. The enemy were not more than one hundred yards distant, and it seemed certain death to go out in that direction, but Lance-Naick Lala insisted on going out to his Adjutant, and offered to crawl back with him on his back at once. When this was not permitted, he stripped off his own clothing to keep the wounded officer warmer and stayed with him till just before dark, when he returned to the shelter. After dark he carried the first wounded officer back to the main trenches, and then, returning with a stretcher, carried back his Adjutant. He set a magnificent example of courage and devotion to his officers.

SEPOY CHATTA SINGH, 9TH BHOPAL INFANTRY.

For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty in leaving cover to assist his Commanding Officer, who was lying wounded and helpless in the open. Sepoy Chatta

Singh bound up the officer's wound and then dug cover for him with his entrenching tool, being exposed all the time to very heavy rifle fire. For five hours until nightfall he remained besides the wounded officer, shielding him with his own body on the exposed side. He then, under cover of darkness, went back for assistance, and brought the officer into safety.

NAICK SHAHAMAD KHAN, PUNJABIS.

For most conspicuous bravery. He was in charge of a machine-gun section in an exposed position in front of and covering a gap in our new line within 150 yards of the enemy's entrenched position. He beat off three counter-attacks, and worked his gun single-handed after all his men, except two belt-fillers, had become casualties.

For three hours he held the gap under very heavy fire while it was being made secure. When his gun was knocked out by hostile fire, he and his two belt-fillers held their ground with rifles till ordered to withdraw.

With three men sent to assist him he then brought back his gun, ammunition, and one severely wounded man unable to walk. Finally, he himself returned and removed all remaining arms and equipment except two shovels.

But for his great gallantry and determination, our line must have been penetrated by the enemy.

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APPENDIX VIII.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR.

I. The Hon. Sir William Meyer.

We have been subjected to much criticism in certain quarters for not contributing more than we have done, and we have been reminded in this connection of a resolution moved and carried in this Council, on the 8th September 1914, by Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, to which Your Excellency referred in your speech on the 7th February, in which the Council expressed the opinion that 'the people of India, in addition to the military assistance now being afforded by India to the Empire, would wish to share in the heavy financial burden now imposed by the war on the United Kingdom, and request the Government of India to take this view into consideration and thus to demonstrate the unity of India with the Empire.' Also of a further resolution, moved and carried on the 24th February 1915, by Mr. M. S. Das, which affirmed the 'unswerving resolution of Indians to support the honour, dignity and prestige of the Empire regardless of the sacrifices it may entail on them.' We have been told that it is a very inadequate compliance with the spirit of these Resolutions to be merely bearing the normal peace cost of the expeditionary forces which we have despatched over-seas; and we have been accused, with reference to remarks made in paragraph 14 of my speech introducing the last financial Statement and paragraph 5 of that introducing the final Budget, of having tried to squeeze His Majesty's Government in respect even of these normal charges.

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Well, I must remind these critics that Section 22 of the Government of India Act forbids the application of the revenues of India to defraying the expenses of any military operations carried on beyond our external frontiers otherwise than for preventing or repelling actual invasion or under some other sudden or urgent necessity, and that the specific consent of both Houses of Parliament is requisite to set these provisions aside. As the law stands, the whole cost of the expeditionary forces supplied from India was, therefore, primarily debitable to His Majesty's Government, as had been the case, for example, in regard to the troops we lent for operations in South Africa during the Boer War, and in China about the same time. We felt, however, that in the circumstances of the present war, we could not properly claim such full payment, and accordingly, after the passing of Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis' resolution, which I may say was brought forward with the full cognisance and approval of Lord Hardinge's Government, we proposed that we should bear the normal charges. Resolutions to this effect were passed in both Houses of Parliament, first in September 1914, and, again, in November of that year, and the latter resolution governs India's present contribution in money to the war. Its terms are as follows:—

'That, His Majesty having directed military forces charged upon the revenues of India to be despatched out of India for service in the war in which this country is engaged, this House consents that the ordinary pay and other ordinary charges of any troops so despatched or that may be so despatched during the continuance of the war as well as the ordinary charges of any vessels belonging to the Government of India that may be employed in these expeditions, which would have been charged upon the resources of India if such troops or vessels had remained in that country or seas adjacent, shall continue to be so chargeable provided that, if it shall be necessary to replace the troops or vessels so withdrawn by other vessels or forces, then the expenses of raising, maintaining, and providing such vessels and forces shall be repaid out of any moneys which may be

provided by Parliament for the purposes of the said expeditions.'

So long as this resolution is in force, His Majesty's Government and we are equally bound by it, and we can neither increase nor decrease the amount of financial assistance which we render in accordance with its terms. In effect, what the resolution lays down is that, although we sent a large number of our best troops out of the country at a time when mere considerations of local safety might well have dictated their remaining here, we pay for them just as if they were still employed in India and at our beck and call.

Further, as regards what constitute 'normal charges' in respect of the many items of expenditure involved, we are bound to satisfy our auditor-general as to the correctness of the classification or to submit his objections for the decision of the Secretary of State. There have consequently been discussions with His Majesty's Government in regard to the proper interpretation of the term "normal charges" in respect of various items, some of the more important of which were mentioned in the portions of my speeches above referred to. But in every case the discussion has been of the most friendly nature, and whenever there was any reasonable doubt, we have been very willing that the decision should be given against ourselves. I may add that the War Office have cordially acknowledged the fairness and clearness with which the accounts have been compiled on this side, and the credit for this is primarily due to Mr. B. N. Mitra, C.I.E., the Controller of War Accounts.

The gross amount that we shall thus have contributed up to the end of the present year may be taken at £19 million; but against this must be set charges relating to British troops actually serving in India which are being borne by the Imperial Government in pursuance of the provision in the resolution of both Houses of Parliament, that the cost of substituted troops (territorial and garrison battalions) shall be borne by the Home Government. With that adjustment, our total net contribution

towards the cost of the war in respect of the Expeditionary Forces is about £11½ million up to the end of the current year, to which we must add another £4 million estimated in respect of 1917-18.

It has also to be borne in mind that quite apart from these charges, we have had to add to our military expenditure very considerably in connection with the war, which has, in particular, rendered it necessary to take special measures for the protection of the North-West frontier. I need not go into details here, but will let the lump figures of military expenditure speak for themselves. The last budget framed under peace conditions, that for 1914-15, assumed a total net military expenditure of £20½ million, which was higher than the outlay for any preceding year subsequent to 1906-07. In 1915-16, the net military expenditure amounted to £22¼ million; in the current year, as I have already explained, it has run up to nearly £25·4 million, while we expect it to amount to close on £26 million in 1917-18. The bulk of the increased expenditure thus shown is directly attributable to circumstances connected with the war, and with the precautionary attitude which further possibilities have forced upon us.

It has also to be remembered that we have been put to very considerable additional expenditure, in conjunction with His Majesty's Government, by reason of the political situation in Persia set up by the war. The total additional cost thus thrown upon us may be taken at £1,200,000 from the commencement of the war up to March 1918.

We have further, as I have already indicated, had to strain our resources very seriously, and to impose prejudicial limitations on legitimate trade activities, in order to finance very heavy charges in this country on account of His Majesty's Government, while we have re-lent them a large part of our recoveries by taking up Treasury Bills through the Paper Currency and Gold Standard Reserves. In all, as I showed in paragraph 37, we have since the beginning of the war put £46½ million into

British war securities, of which £35 million represents wholly new investment. And, in 1917-18, we expect that our anticipatory payments for the Home Government will be about as heavy as in the current year, while we must anticipate a recurrence of the attendant difficulties.

Finally, at the cost of cutting down our capital expenditure programme to the quick, we have abstained from indenting on the home money market with the intention of leaving it free for His Majesty's Government's loan operations. Thus, in 1915-16, allowing for the discharge of debt, our net borrowings in London amounted only to a sum of £2 million, while in the current year we are making no fresh sterling borrowing, but are on the contrary redeeming £7$\frac{1}{2}$ million of previous debt. Nor do we propose to indent on the home market in any way in the coming year.

We have been reproached in certain quarters for not having taken steps, a year or two ago, to float a special war loan in India, the proceeds of which would have gone to His Majesty's Government. I need only say that we carefully considered the desirability of such action and came to the conclusion that it was at that time not expedient. That conclusion, as the Secretary of State announced some time ago in the House of Commons, was fully accepted by His Majesty's Government, who realised that the best assistance we could then give was to abstain from borrowing in the home market and rely on India for our own essential requirements.

I now revert to the question whether we might have done more in respect of direct contribution to His Majesty's Government, with reference to Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis' resolution of September 1914. The answer is that the situation at that time did not permit it. Our finances had been most gravely dislocated by the war: We were faced not merely by a large decrease in revenue but by a very serious drain on our Post Office Savings Bank deposits, which had compelled us to borrow £7 million from the Gold Standard Reserve, while the Secretary of State had incurred £7 million of temporary debt in London. In framing the Budget for 1915-16,

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again, we were faced by what we thought would be a heavy deficit, and having regard to political and financial considerations, Lord Hardinge's Government felt strongly that it was necessary at that time to avoid additional taxation. In connection with a Budget for the current year, such taxation had become a necessity, but the position on the North-West frontier was still so uncertain that we could not safely undertake fresh direct liabilities in connection with the prosecution of the war outside India. We had still, moreover, heavy temporary debt liabilities, £4 million remaining due to the Gold Standard Reserve, while we did not then see our way to repaying more than £1½ million of the Secretary of State's India Bills.

We have always felt, however, that if and when our circumstances warranted this, we should take up the question of making a further direct contribution by India towards a struggle in which her own political and economic future is so closely involved, and throughout which her trade and security have been so materially assisted by the command of the sea established by His Majesty's Navy; and we have been in constant touch with His Majesty's Government in regard to this matter. We hold that the time has now come at which we can safely put our wish into effect, and thereby gratify still further the patriotic feelings unanimously expressed in this Council on the occasion of the resolutions moved by Sir G. Chitnavis and Mr. M. S. Das. We are able to do this without misgiving, since we have now, as I have already explained, cleared off the whole of our temporary liabilities, and have accumulated balances strong enough to enable us to carry out our reduced capital expenditure programme without further borrowing in India on our own account next year.

Accordingly, at the beginning of January, Your Excellency addressed a telegram to the Secretary of State, from which I quote the following passage:—

'I feel, and I speak throughout with the cordial and unanimous assent of my colleagues that the time has come for India to place her credit and her taxable capa-

city at the disposal of His Majesty's Government, to be utilised to the farthest extent which her limited resources and a just appreciation of the circumstances of her people render practicable, and in such time and manner as His Majesty's Government may deem expedient. We are prepared to borrow, in India, as a war loan for His Majesty's Government, the largest sum which can be raised, and to offer for this purpose terms no less liberal than those which have been granted in England. If it should be found that Indian credit can also be usefully employed elsewhere, we should gladly assent to its being so employed, and in so far as the aggregate funds which India can thus directly borrow for the use of His Majesty's Government constitute a contribution not adequately proportioned to her resources, we propose that she should also undertake the service of a portion of the existing British war debt. In this spirit, and in the confidence that such an offer will evoke a generous response from the Princes and Peoples of India, we have addressed ourselves to the task of defining practical possibilities.'

The telegram went on to indicate that we were prepared to accept an ultimate total special contribution of £100 million to the war, and to put forward proposals for increasing our resources in order to meet the consequent recurring liabilities, which may be taken at £6 million a year allowing for the gradual extinction of this debt by a sinking fund. Deducting from this £100 million the amount raised by our borrowing in India for the benefit of His Majesty's Government, and by any special issues which that Government might think it desirable for us to undertake elsewhere, we would liquidate the balance by taking over a portion of the Home War debt.

His Majesty's Government have gratefully accepted this offer, and the £100 million we are thus contributing amounts, I may point out, to nearly double our total Imperial revenue as it stood before the war.—*Budget Speech, March* 1, 1917.

II. The Hon. Pundit M. M. Malaviya.

Men's memories are short and there has been a persistent and regrettable attempt on the part of some people and papers, both here and in England, to belittle the support which India has rendered to the cause of the Empire and of the Allies in this unprecedented war. While we feel grateful that our trade and security have been materially assisted by the command of the sea established by His Majesty's navy, it seems to be forgotten in some quarters that the timely help of the troops and officers, whom India had trained and maintained for years and at enormous expense, was of inestimable value in saving the cause of the Allies in the early days of the war, and that but for that help the prestige of the Empire might have been in serious jeopardy in the East. Though the actual numbers have not been published, I believe I am not wrong in saying that since the war began, India has placed over 25,000 trained soldiers in the service of His Majesty's Government. She has rendered invaluable aid by furnishing supplies of all sorts of foodstuffs, clothing, ordnance, equipment, and munitions by training and despatching horses, by lending to the Admiralty a great part of her Royal Indian Marine fleet, and by fitting out transports. As the Hon'ble the Finance Member said in his statement, the other day, our total net contribution towards the cost of the war in respect of the Expeditionary Forces is about £11½ million up to the end of the current year and £4 million more will be added to it by the end of the next financial year. Besides this, owing to the war, our military expenditure has risen from £20½ millions in 1914-15 to £25¼ millions and will amount to close on £26 millions in 1917-18. We have also had to incur expenditure to the extent of £1,200,000 in Persia, owing to the political situation set up there by the war. In addition to all this we have since the beginning of the war put £46½ millions into British war securities, of which £35 millions represent wholly new investments. When our unkind critics seek to belittle our contributions to the war by comparing them with those of the

Self-Governing Dominions, they seem to forget that, unlike the Dominions, we have throughout our connection with the Empire borne our own share of the military burdens. All this has been done not only by maintaining a high level of taxation, but by raising it higher and higher, and is it too much to ask that those who desire that India should make a further direct contribution to the war might, in fairness to her, say so without belittling what she has already done.

Till last year Government set their face resolutely against a special war loan and, if I may say so, they had the best of reasons for doing so. In my humble judgment, the most substantial of those reasons have neither disappeared, nor have they lost their force. The only change that has taken place is that £11½ millions of our debt has been paid, but the Secretary of State and the Government of India have now come to the conclusion that it is expedient to float such a big loan. That decision must now be carried out, in view of the official circumstances of the case. I support the proposal that we should make a further direct contribution to the war. I am at one with the Government here.—*Speech in the Imperial Council, March 7, 1917.*

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III. H. E. Lord Chelmsford.

This has been a notable session and the Hon'ble members have, I think, every reason to be gratified with it. They have signified, in no uncertain manner, their desire to associate India with the sacrifices which our Empire has had to make in connection with this war, and I am glad to think that the Government of India, in making their offer of £100 millions to the Imperial Government, did not misinterpret the wishes of this Council. Some of you may have felt that the initiation of this policy by the Government reduced the subsequent legislative proceedings to little more than a formality, but this, believe me, is a superficial view. I can assure you that as regards the grave issues which this budget has raised, we do feel our real dependence on your support. We have acted in your name and on the strength of the mandate which you gave us in your loyal resolutions of the 8th September 1914, and the 24th February 1915, and we desired an endorsement of our actions which should go beyond the passing of the bills necessary to give them legal validity. It was, therefore, with the highest satisfaction that I found you to be in practically unanimous accord with the Government in supporting the proposals we laid before you. I think you would all wish me to congratulate Sir William Meyer on the skill with which he framed his budget, on the lucidity with which he expounded it, and on the reception which it has received throughout the country. I do not minimise for one moment the heavy responsibilities which this budget has placed upon us. There will be a sacrifice not of luxuries, not of the frills and trimmings of civilisation, but a sacrifice in a large measure of the necessities of ordered Government, and the result must be arrested progress in education, in sanitation, in public works and kindred subjects which are in other countries the touchstone of civilised life. . . . . .

Coincident with this session has come the triumphant progress of our gallant troops in Mesopotamia. We have all admired the military skill and determination which has marked the leadership of our army in the field, and we cannot forget the gallantry and endurance of the

troops throughout the operations, which have taken place under the most trying conditions. We need not worry over the questions to whom, apart from the Generals and the Army in the field, the credit of those operations is due. But I should be doing less than justice to India if I did not briefly touch upon the history of the last year. The fall of Kut marked the nadir of our fortunes. The Indian Army had been bled white in providing troops and equipment for four fronts. The breakdown on the medical side in Mesopotamia had brought a storm of obloquy on Indian administration. The hardships of a summer in Mesopotamia had decimated and sapped the strength of our troops. The sick pouring into India had placed a strain on our hospital resources, which were frankly insufficient. All this had to be remedied. It is not easy for men to concentrate attention on work when criticism, some true, much of it based on the flimsiest grounds, is showering down upon their heads. But the fact remains, that the work has been done, and, so far as our resources have enabled us, I believe, we have made up the deficiencies of a year ago. Am I going beyond the mark when I say that we ought to pay a tribute to the labours by which the late and the present Commander-in-Chief and the Army Headquarters have accomplished this, and enabled General Maude and his heroic companions-in-arms to achieve the success over which we are rejoicing to-day? History will some day record its verdict on these events, and we are too near to them ourselves to be sure of our judgment. But three stages seem to stand clearly out: the first in which India threw all she had and far more than had ever been contemplated into the great struggle; the second, the inevitable breakdown due in part to the exhaustion of our military resources, in part to adverse fortune; and the third, the patient building up again of the forces which has made our recent operations possible. It is easy to be wise after the event, and we to-day can see how things might have been ordered differently. We hope we have profited by our failures and have atoned for them, and made provisions against their recurrence.—*Speech at the concluding session of the Imperial Legislative Council, March* 23, 1917.

IV. The Rt. Hon. Mr. Chamberlain.

Moving the resolution authorising India's war contribution in the House of Commons, on March 14, Mr. Chamberlain said he was confident that the members of the House would unite in gratefully recognising the feeling of comradeship and the community of interest which prompted the gift. He recalled the war services of the Indian troops, of whom there were now 300,000 on active service, and paid a tribute to the part played by officers in the British Indian army and officers in the Medical Service and Imperial Service Troops, and also to the unrivalled generosity of the Indian Princes. Mr. Chamberlain spoke of the labour corps, motor transport and munitions supplied by India, and mentioned that India's output of small-arms had increased threefold and of field-gun cartridges twelvefold since the war. He claimed that the military efforts of the Indian Government seconded by the Princes, Chiefs and Peoples of India had been no mean contribution to the success of the Empire.

V. Mr. Lloyd George's Message.

I wish, on behalf of the British Government, to express to the Government and the people of India our most sincere gratitude for the magnificent contribution which India has just made to the financing of the War. Coming, in addition to the enthusiasm and loyalty manifested throughout India on the outbreak of the War and to the invaluable military services since rendered by the Indian Army, this gift is to us a moving proof that India shares whole-heartedly with the other subjects of the Crown, the ideals for which we are fighting in this War. That India should come forward of her own accord at this crisis and render such real and opportune assistance is not only a source of sincere satisfaction to His Majesty's Government, but must produce a better mutual understanding among all the races and peoples under the British Crown.—*Message to H. E. the Viceroy who read the same at the Imperial Legislative Council on the 23rd March*, 1917.

APPENDIX IX.

THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

Mr. Percy Alden, M.P.

The problem that faces us with regard to India, and perhaps Egypt, is certainly serious and difficult. The final authority will no doubt have to remain for some time to come in the hands of the Imperial Government. For long it will be necessary to maintain armies both in India, Egypt, and other dependencies, but to an ever-increasing degree these armies will become native; and as they become native, and as the civil administration is more and more associated with the people of the country so governed, it would be possible to transfer from time to time powers which have hitherto rested with Great Britain to the better educated and more disciplined portions of these large communities. It is not enough that India or Egypt should supply leaders—they must also be able to supply an educated electorate. For that reason the Liberal Party regards it as a profound responsibility resting upon Great Britain to see that the Government of these dependencies does take the necessary steps gradually to educate and train the native populations for a self-government which, though remote at present, is none the less sure to come to pass in the fullness of time. India will also claim an ever-increasing part in Imperial affairs, and she should be encouraged, all the more because of her splendid achievements in this war, to look in that direction for the consummation of her hopes and aspirations.—"*The Star*," *November* 2, 1916.

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